REFLECTIONS ON TIBETAN CULTURE

Essays in Memory of Turrell V. Wylie

Edited By
Lawrence Epstein & Richard F. Sherburne

Studies in Asian Thought and Religion
Volume 12

The Edwin Mellen Press
Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter



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Turrell V. Wylie

1927-1984

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Reflections on Tibetan Culture : essays in memory of Turrell V. Wylie
/ edited by Lawrence Epstein and Richard F. Sherburne.
p. cm. -- (Studies in Asian thought and religion ; v. 12)
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 0-88946-064-7
1. Tibet (China) 2. Wylie, Turrell V. (Turrell Verl) I. Wylie, Turrell V. (Turrell Verl) II. Epstein, Lawrence. III. Sherburne, Richard. IV. Series.
DS786.R43 1989
951'.5--dc20 89-48515
CIP

This is volume 12 in the continuing series
Studies in Asian Thought and Religion
Volume 12 ISBN 0-88946-064-7
SATR Series ISBN 0-88946-050-7

A CIP catalog record for this book
is available from the British Library.

The Edwin Mellen Press
Box 450
Lewiston, New York
USA 14092

The Edwin Mellen Press
Box 67
Queenston, Ontario
CANADA L0S 1L0

The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd.
Lampeter, Dyfed, Wales
UNITED KINGDOM SA48 7DY

Printed in the United States of America

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INTRODUCTION

This collection of essays was originally planned as a Festschrift in honor of Professor Turrell V. Wylie on the anniversary of twenty–five years of Tibetan studies at the University of Washington, a program which he initiated. Professor Wylie's untimely death in 1984 left the editors no alternative but to present this volume as an affectionate memorial instead. However, it is dedicated with no less sincerity and enthusiasm by its contributors, all of whom were personal friends, colleagues, or former students of the master.

Terry (to use the nickname by which he was always known) was born in 1927 in Durango, Colorado, and served in the Merchant Marine in World War II. Terry pursued almost his entire academic career at the University of Washington. Finishing his B.A. degree in 1952, he later completed a doctorate in Chinese language and literature, at the same time commencing the study of Tibetan language and literature that was to become his principal scholarly field. In Rome, he pursued graduate studies with Professor Giuseppe Tucci, his life–long cherished guru. In 1958, Terry received academic appointment to the Department of Far Eastern and Slavic Languages (later to become the Department of Asian Languages and Literature) at his alma mater, and quickly rose to become its youngest full professor. His talent for administrative stewardship was recognised more than once; he served with great grace and distinction as executive chairman of the Inner Asia Project as well as departmental chair (1969–1972, 1977–1978).

Instruction in Tibetan language and culture had been offered at the University of Washington, albeit not on a regular basis, since 1952. There was also an ensemble of notable scholars, such as Li Fang-kuei, Nicholas Poppe, and Helmut Wilhelm, with an established interest in Central and Inner Asian languages and cultures. In 1960, after the Tibetan national uprising of 1959 and the flight of the Dalai Lama to India, Terry was selected by the Rockefeller Foundation to create a Center for Tibetan Research at the University of Washington, the first such center in the United States. Simultaneously, funding was received from the U.S. Office of Education to bring scholars from India to produce Tibetan language materials on the Lhasa dialect. Travelling widely in northern India, he toiled to select appropriate lay and monk teachers from among the Tibetan refugees in order to begin these projects.

The Tibetan language and literature program which Terry founded and the Inner Asia Project and Colloquium which he subsequently directed were the flowers of a notably vigorous period of Tibetan scholarship at the university. Due to Terry's efforts, the University of Washington remains one of the few American universities to offer Tibetan studies and course work at the doctoral level. Additionally, it was through Terry's concern for Tibetan

scholarship around the world that many projects, especially those conducted by Tibetan refugee scholars, were encouraged and funded.

Terry's interest in Tibet was more than merely scholarly. His energy and practicality at international conferences in helping devise ways to assist the refugees were recognised and commended by the Dalai Lama. But most of all, he is remembered vividly by the Tibetan community of Seattle which grew out of his efforts. At his memorial service, he was eulogized by Jigme Yuthok:

> As a friend he was the most forgiving, affectionate and caring person that I have ever met in my life. Even after minor disagreements and disappointments, he was the one to forgive first, he was the one to offer encouragement, and he was the one to care for the health and welfare of all his friends. As a scholar, his life was a success story, defined not in terms of name and fame, wealth and power, but rather of richness of experience and depth of character in the search for Truth and Knowledge.

Still other indications of the high regard in which Tibetans held him is the name that His Holiness the Dalai Lama bestowed on him at an audience in Dharamsala in 1960, Bkra–shis–bsam–'phel, a name now inscribed on the stone that marks Terry's grave in his native Durango. His Holiness also took the extraordinary step of sending a personal message to Terry's family and friends in the following cable:

> To the bereaved family members and those gathered at the memorial service for the late Dr. Turrell Wylie, His Holiness the Dalai Lama conveys his sincere condolences. Dr. Wylie's strong and genuine feelings for the Tibetan people and their just cause will long remain deeply appreciated. In the death of Dr. Wylie we have lost a true friend and a distinguished scholar of Tibetan studies. His Holiness offers his deepest prayers.

A devoted teacher, Terry was ever meticulous and thorough with his students, showing deep personal interest in his charges. He was scrupulously faithful in providing help and guidance in research, and he directed several of the theses and dissertations of contributors to this volume.

Terry loved people and loved life. Those of us who were privileged to know him not only as scholar and colleague but also as friend will always cherish his unfailing good humor. The irrepressible wit of the self–styled "Blue Shaman of Durango" which enlivened many national and international conferences and congresses is as much remembered as his lucid presentations and careful analyses in Tibetan research.

Terry was a remarkable "Renaissance Man." From his student days in Rome he gained an enviable fluency in demotic Italian, and subsequent pe-

riods of research in Italy served to enhance and deepen his affection for and appreciation of painting and sculpture — as well as his discriminating tastes in food and wine. He took great pleasure in sharing his knowledge of the world of Italian art and culture with visitors to Rome. A talented amateur painter in oils and sculptor in wood and stone, Terry found in the plastic arts not only the enjoyment of passive contemplation, but the rewards of active creativity as well. An ardent lover of the mountain wilderness, he found recreation and contemplation in his long–time hobby of gold panning in the snow–fed streams of the Pacific Northwest.

The importance of his life is witnessed by the obituaries which appeared in all the major Asian studies journals.

Scholarship and Publications

Terry's primary scholarly interest was Tibetan geography and history, and his publications show the high standards of research which justify his reputation. The following is a list of his most important contributions to the field of Tibetan studies.

1957

A Place Name Index to George N. Roerich's Translation of the Blue Annals. Serie Orientale Roma 15. Rome.

1959

"A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 22: 261–267.

"Dating the Tibetan Geography 'Dzam–gling–rgyas–bshad Through Its Description of the Western Hemisphere." *Central Asiatic Journal* 4(4): 300–311.

"Nature in Tibetan Poetry." *Wen–hsüeh tsa–chih* 6(5): 36–43 [in Chinese translation].

1962

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1963

"'O–lde–spu–rgyal and the Introduction of Bon to Tibet." *Central Asiatic Journal* 8(2): 93–103.

1964

"Mar–pa's Tower: Notes on Local Hegemons in Tibet." *History of Religions Journal* 3(2): 278–291.

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"The Tibetan Tradition of Geography." *Bulletin of Tibetology* 2: 17–25.

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1966

"A Propos of Tibetan Religious Observances." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 86(1): 39–45 [Review article].

1967

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"Tibet: A Study in Chinese Chauvinism." *Orient/West* 12(1): 41–59.

"Tibetan Studies in the United States." *The Tibet Society Newsletter* 1(1): 51–60.

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1969

Articles for *Encyclopedia Brittanica*:

"Batang." 3: 271–272.

"Chang Thang." 5: 267–268.

"Dalai Lama." 7: 3–4.

"Gartok." 10: 3.

"Kailas Range." 13: 187.

"Lhasa." 13: 1012–1015.

"Tibet." 21: 1106–1110, 1110A–H, 1111–1116.

"Tibetan Language." 21: 1119–1119A, 1119B–1120.

"Zhikatse." 23: 964–965.

1970

Article for *Encyclopedia Brittanica*:

"Gyangtse." 10: 1056.

A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal. Serie Orientale Roma 42. Rome.

"Was Christopher Columbus from Shambala?" *Bulletin of the Institute of China: Border Area Studies* 1: 24–34.

1974

Article for *Encyclopedia Brittanica*:

"Central Asian Peoples, Arts of: Performing Arts: dance and theatre." 3: 1127–1130.

1975

Tibet's Role in Inner Asia. Indiana State University, Asian Studies Research Institute.

1977

"Etymology of Tibetan bla–ma." *Central Asiatic Journal* 21: 145–148.

"The First Mongol Conquest of Tibet Reinterpreted." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 37: 103–133.

1978

"Reincarnation: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism." In L. Ligeti (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium*, 579–586. Budapest.

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"Lama Tribute in the Ming Dynasty." In M. Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi (Eds.), *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson. Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies*, 335–340. Oxford.

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1988

"The Dharma–conch of Sa–skya." In G. Gnoli and L. Lancicotti (Eds.), *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata.* Serie Orientale Roma 56, 1559–1565. Rome.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The editors express their thanks to Professor Ter Ellingson, Professor Roy Miller and Geshe Ngawang Nornang for the generous help and the constructive criticism they have provided throughout this project. We acknowledge also with special gratitude the invaluable assistance provided us by the staff of the Humanities and Arts Computing Center (HACC), University of Washington, in the preparation of this book. Drs. Thomas Ridgeway and Stacy Waters trained us in the basics of electronic typesetting, sustained us through its perils and pitfalls, and maintained our sanity with unfailing good humor when, at times, we thought surely we must go mad. Tom in particular has presided as *iṣṭadevatā*–in–chief. He gave unstintingly of his time, energy and considerable talent to design the fonts used herein for Sanskrit transliteration, and generally to push, pull, prod, and cajole this book into reality.

Lawrence Epstein, University of Washington
Richard F. Sherburne, Seattle University
Seattle, February 28, 1989

A GUIDE-BOOK TO TSA-RI[1]

ELENA DEROSSI FILIBECK
ROME

The subject of our study is the guide-book to Tsa-ri,[2] written by the 'Brug-pa Chos-kyi-snang-ba-'gyur-med-rdo-rje-snying-po[3] at the Gsang-sngags-chos-gling[4] in Byar, west of Tsa-ri. The book was written at the request of Rnam-rgyal-chos-sgrub, the author's *gzim-dpon* (TG: 30a), to provide the residents of Tsa-ri, who served as guides to the many pilgrims, with a text giving more detailed explanations of the various localities than were available in a short *lam-yig*[5] of Tsa-ri, written by the same author. Thus the contents of the book concern the religious geography of the Tsa-ri sites. It refers especially to toponymic explanations, while it lacks notes of some historical relevance.

As a hermitage and a pilgrimage site, Tsa-ri is usually associated with La-phyi, the famous hermitage of Mi-la-ras-pa, and with Ti-se, the sacred mountain of Buddhists, Hindus and Bon-pos, because of the special veneration in which the followers of the Bka'-brgyud-pa[6] held those three places. According to a well-known tradition, Phag-mo-gru-pa (1110-1170) gave his principal disciples the order he had himself received from Sgam-po-pa (1079-1153) to go and meditate in these three particular places. From a religious point of view, Tsa-ri, La-phyi and Ti-se are included for the Bka'-brgyud-pa in the list of the so-called Twenty-four Holy Pilgrimage Sites which, according to the tantric cycle of Bde-mchog,[7] were the scene of the epiphany of the twenty-four couples of *dpa'-bo* and *dpa'-mo* sent by Bcom-ldan-'das, who had appeared in 'Khor-lo-sdom-pa to drive out the couples of devils that had been settled there for a long time.[8]

In turn, Gling-ras-pa (1128-1188) and 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (1143-1217) sent their principal disciples to meditate in the three places. As in La-phyi and in Ti-se, hermits arrived in Tsa-ri in successive and increasingly larger waves. Even if the Tsa-ri guide-book does not mention what appear to have been veritable missionary migrations sent by the 'Bri-gung-pa,[9] it does nevertheless recall that the three principal disciples of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, collectively called Gnyos 'Gar Chos,[10] arrived in the Tsa-ri area through the Rib-pa Pass. However, they did not succeed in actually consecrating the site, a task that was to be accomplished by the direct disciple of Gling-ras-pa, the 'Brug-pa skyes-bu sgom Ye-shes-rdo-rje, alias Gtsang-pa Rgya-ras-pa (1161-1211),[11] as prophesied by Sgam-po-pa. This meant a prevailing presence of 'Brug-pa hermits in the Tsa-ri area, so that later Padma-dkar-po (1527-1592) built the temple dedicated to Rdo-rje-phag-mo in the Cig-car Valley,[12] and the monastery of Gsang-sngags-chos-gling (Chandra 1968: 9),

kept until very recently by the 'Brug-pa as their center and the dwelling place of the incarnated 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che.

Although historically the beginning of the cult of the Tsa-ri site is to be traced back to the twelfth century, the locality was already known during the first spread of Buddhism (*snga-dar*), as evidenced by a number of prophecies included in the *Lam-yig* of Srong-btsan-sgam-po by Vimalamitra, and by the fact that Padmasambhava himself hid many *gter-ma* in Tsa-ri (TG: 6b). Thus, Tsa-ri is a holy place for the Rnying-ma-pa and the Bka'-brgyud-pa, and for the followers of the schools derived from them, like the 'Bri-gung-pa and the 'Brug-pa. But it is a holy place for all Tibetans as well, including the Dge-lugs-pa, as witnessed also by a pilgrimage made to Tsa-ri by Thub-bstan-rgya-mtsho, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876–1933), whose biography[13] dedicates a whole chapter to this place.

Before dealing with the various sites mentioned in the guide-book, it might be useful to define exactly the whole of Tsa-ri's geographic features. Tsa-ri, literally the "grassy mountain," is the name given to a vast area extending south of the Gtsang-po (Brahmaputra), nearly corresponding to the large bend that the river makes before heading south, and precisely in the south-eastern part of Dwags-po. The areas of Klo, Mon, Mnyal, Byar, Dwags-po and Kong-po[14] delimit Tsa-ri and form the external circumambulation (*skor*) of the holy area of Tsa-ri (TG: 5a). Klo indicates the area of the Himalayan slopes south-east of Tsa-ri, inhabited by the Klo-pa (Glo-pa or Lo-pa),[15] tribal peoples that include such various groups as the Abor, the Dafla, etc. The Lo-pa represented such a serious threat for the pilgrims coming to the holy site of Tsa-ri from all over Tibet, that the central government of Lhasa set up an armed escort to protect them. Mon indicates, at least in this case, the area north-east of Tsa-ri, inhabited by the Mon-pa,[16] since the region named Mon on maps is too far away from Tsa-ri. Mnyal and Byar[17] are two areas west of Tsa-ri, crossed by the rivers Nye Chu (Mnyal Chu) and Char Chu (Byar Chu) as shown on maps. The plain of Tsa-ri, with the river Tsa-ri Chu, a secondary arm of the Subansiri, is called Tsa-ri'i dkyil-'khor Thang in the texts (Wylie 1962: 94; Zhabs-dkar 1975: 231a).

From an orographic point of view, the Tsa-ri area is crossed by two mountain ranges oriented in parallel which are part of the Himalayan spurs of Assam. These mountains, not very high by Himalayan standards, present themselves with their cracked anticlines and deep gorges, where impetuous torrents flow. Below the ice limit, they are covered with forests of Himalayan conifers, rhododendrons, green meadows, and the evidence of a startling alpine flora typical of the Tibetan humid areas. Furthermore, the whole region shows the signs of an old glaciation, witnessed by a large number of lakes (Ward 1936: 406–409). The climatic and scenic aspects of this geographical appearance are clearly presented in the Tsa-ri guide-book, especially in the sections dealing with the arrival of Gtsang-pa Rgya-ras-pa, against whom

the *gzhi–bdag*, still unappeased, arouse natural atmospheric prodigies, and in the description of woods and lakes (TG: 6b, 10b).

The holy part of Tsa–ri includes the big mountain of the Dag–pa–shel–gyi Ri–bo or Dag–pa–shri,[18] and the whole area surrounding it, around which there is a long, winding circumambulation (*skor*). To walk it meant to make the great pilgrimage that traditionally took place every twelve years, in a "monkey" year. Additionally, it was the habit to make a shorter pilgrimage, on a smaller circle around the mountain; this took place between April and September.[19]

To the pilgrims leaving for the internal circumambulation (*nang–skor*), the guide–book gives the following description of the holy area: in Tsa–ri, there are four rivers of realization (*dngos–grub*) flowing in the direction of the four cardinal points. Then there are four large valleys called Mgon–po–dang–lha–mo Rong, 'Od–bar Rong, Stag–tshang Rong, and Dom–tshang Rong. There are four big passes called Skyob–chen La, Sha–skam La, Dga'–yod La and Sha–dus La. There are also four large caverns called Skyob–chen Phug, 'Od–bar Phug, Rdo–rje Phug, and Mig–ra Phug. In Tsa–ri there are many lakes classified as follows: four lakes of realization (*dngos–grub*) called Pho–brang G.yu–mtsho, 'Od–bar G.yu–mtsho, Skyog–mo Sindhura'i–mtsho, and Bde–mchog Bla–mtsho. The four lakes called 'Phrin–las–grub–pa'i Mtsho are Sgrol–ma Bla–mtsho, Chos–'byung Zangs–mtsho, Kun–'byung Gser–mtsho, Kā–la Dung–mtsho; the four lakes called Drag–po–dgra–bgegs–sgrol–ba are Mu–men Mthing–Mtsho, Dmar–nag Rakta, Me–'bar Mtsho and Bdud–mgon Mtsho. In addition to these, there are one hundred and twenty other lakes.

The holy part of Tsa–ri was itself distinguished into Tsa–ri Rnying–ma (TG: 16a–b), Tsa–ri Mtsho–dkar and Tsa–ri Gsar–ma Bkra–shis–ljongs, respectively defined also as *rdo–rje'i rwa–nub*, *rdo–rje'i lte–ba* and *rdo–rje'i 'phred–bzhag* (TG: 4b).

Tsa–ri Rnying–ma

Cig–car[20] was the pilgrims' meeting place and departure point. The name of this village derives from the abbreviated form of *nyams–rtogs cig–car–du 'char–ba'i gnas*, a place arousing immediate knowledge; it is also called Cig–car dpal–gyi nags–ljongs and Cig–car dmar–po.

Near Cig–car there was a site called Bod–khung–gzhung–rdo or Bod–rdo, considered to be the central place of Tsa–ri Rnying–ma. This site is linked with the history of the consecration of Tsa–ri. Here Gtsang–pa Rgya–ras–pa saw the *ḍākiṇī* with the lion face[21] being absorbed by the rock, where later the temple in honor of Rdo–rje–phag–mo would be built. Before arriving in Bod–rdo, Gtsang–pa Rgya–ras–pa made two attempts to get to Tsa–ri to accomplish the consecration of the site (*sgo–'byed*). The first time, he was stopped by the apparition of the Mgon–po Gri–gum–can (Nebesky–Wojkowitz 1956: 34), who unleashed snowstorms against him and made him lose his way by causing thick fogs. The second time, he met a girl on the way

to Tsa–ri who was actually a *ḍākiṇī*. She advised the saint to return after one year, with a hat of water on his head, boots of water on his feet, and a stick of water in his hands. She added that he had to spray incense when going up and down mountain paths, to sing and dance when crossing valleys and to perform rites of offering without interruption. The third time, Gtsang–pa Rgya–ras–pa returned after he had followed the *ḍākiṇī*'s advice, and he had the vision of the *mkha'–'gro–ma* Seng–ge–gdong–can being absorbed into the rock.

The places to be remembered in the neighborhood of Bod–rdo or Rdo–mtshan–gzhung are a mountain in the shape of the statue of Bcom–ldan–'das, now called Gangs–can–mtsho–rgyal; and lower mountains where Klu'i rgyal–po Dbang–po–lhag had his dwellings, now called Klu–rgyal–po–lhag. Cig–car is also linked with the history of the consecration of Tsa–ri, as it is here that Gtsang–pa Rgya–ras–pa arrived after he had had the vision of the *lha–tshogs* of the *maṇḍala* of 'Khor–lo–sdom–pa, the expected sign to consider the site open for meditation.

A Brief History of Cig–car

Two generations after the time of his arrival, hermits of the 'Brug–pa of Rdza–khrod–shar had settled in the Cig–car area. During the same period, a violent epidemic broke out in Dwags–po and Kong–po, unleashed by the *ma–mo*. A few protectors (*yon–bdag*) of the hermits, such as the *rgyal–po* Rkyen–pa,[22] went to Ra–lung–thel whose abbot at that time was the Khri–chen Spos–skya Seng–ge–rin–chen (1258–1313),[23] an incarnation of Chos–rje Dpon–ras.[24] When the *rgyal–po* requested that other hermits be sent into the area of Tsa–ri, the abbot gave permission to Bsod–nams–rgyal–mtshan to leave with the king. He recommended that he should go to a Tsa–ri locality called Cig–car Dpal, because the site had been given to him by Cig–car–dmar–po, the local *gzhi–bdag*, whose name before having been bound by an oath was Gshin–rje'i–rgyal–po (Nebesky–Wojkowitz 1956: 222). After the arrival of Bsod–nams–rgyal–mtshan and other hermits, the monasteries called Gdan–sa–spang–mo, Dbu–ri–spang–mo and Rgod–spang–mo were built in the area of Cig–car, and as time progressed they were increasingly occupied by the *rnal–'byor–pa* and the *grub–thob*. The bridge Lha–mo–zam–gdong was also built near the village of Chos–zam–gdong.[25] Cig–car and Bod–rdo are parts of Tsa–ri Rnying–ma.

Tsa–ri Mtsho–dkar

Mtsho–dkar,[26] located east of Cig–car, was opened for meditation by the Karma–pa Rang–byung–rdo–rje, and by the Karma–pa Rol–pa'i–rdo–rje. On that densely wooded site of the lake, which is similar to a silver basin full of milk, we find the dwelling of the *mkha'–'gro* Gsang–ba; nearby there was Khyung–tshang Phug. Afterwards, many Karma–pa, like Dbang–phyug–

rdo–rje and Chos–dbyings–rdo–rje,[27] and many 'Brug–pa, like the Rgyal–dbang Kun–dga'–dpal–'byor,[28] made the circumambulation of Mtsho–dkar.

Circumambulation sites of the holy mount of Tsa–ri

When proceeding southeast from Cig–car, the first locality to be met is the Lcags–sbal Valley (*rong*) where Gtsang–pa Rgya–ras–pa saw the apparition of the *sgo–srungs* who caused the iron–thick fogs for which it is named.

If we proceed uphill from here, we find the Lwa–wa Phug, a place of realization (*sgrub–gnas*) of the *siddha* Lwa–wa–pa.[29] Beyond it, there is the Rdo–ba'i Phug where Rdo–rje–g.yu–sgron–ma appeared to Gtsang–pa Rgya–ras–pa. Kun–mkhyen Ngag–dbang–nor–bu (alias Padma–dkar–po) also came to this place, and Rdo–rje–g.yu–sgron–ma went as far as Chos–zam–gdong to meet him. Going further on, we find a triangular black lake, the *bla–mtsho* of Bdud–mgon.

In a deep valley leading to the Sgrol–ma Pass[30] are the lakes of G.yu–sgron–ma and Sgrol–ma. The Rgyal–dbang Dpag–bsam–dbang–po came to meditate in these mountains.

Between the hill spurs of the mount, beyond the Sgrol–ma Pass, is the *bla–mtsho* lake of Bde–mchog. Here Rje Rgyal–dbang Kun–dga'–dpal–'byor had the vision of the *lha–tshogs* of Tshe–dpag–med. The mountain on the left beyond the Sgrol–ma Pass has the aspect of Rdo–rje–phag–mo and of Dpal–ldan–lha–mo. Going down these mountains, we reach Mi–lpags–mgon–po Rong.[31]

Further on, we find the river 'Chi–med Chu and the lake Dbang–phyug–ma'i–dkyil–'khor. Before arriving at Lha–lung and at 'Od–bar Rong, we come to more lakes and mountains, dwelling places of *ḍākiṇī*.

Going from Lha–lung around the mountain beyond 'Od–bar Rong, we find the Stag–ma Pass, with a rock at its top called Rdo–rje–gnam–'phrang. Here the *mkha'–'gro–ma* Seng–ge–gdong–can appeared to Gtsang–pa Rgya–ras–pa. Nearby there are the Gsang Phug and the Gsang–chu–la Dkyil–'khor Phug.

In ancient times, in the not distant Byams–pa Rong, Padma–dkar–po received a throne as a gift from the *mkha'–'gro–ma* Seng–ge–gdong–can.

Beyond Mi–lpags, if we cross the Sha–skam Pass,[32] we find a lake, dwelling place of Spyan–ras–gzigs. At the top of the Sha–skam Pass, there is a rock shaped like a book, and another one that looks like a raven's head, to which the passing pilgrims used to offer meat; this is the reason for its name. At the edge of the pass is Dkar–rdog Thang, where in times past Gnyos, 'Gar and Chos met with Gtsang–pa Rgya–ras–pa. At the bottom of the valley lies the 'Od–bar Phug–mo–che.

The passes called Mthol–bshags La, Dpa'–bo La and Dpa'–mo La are on the opposite side of the Stag–ma Pass. The first one was given that name

because if one crosses it, the vow of confession of sins is fulfilled; the other two derive their name from apparitions of the *dpa'–bo* and *dpa'–mo*.

The lakes Rigs–gsum–mgon–po, Khra–mo, Spyang–mo and Gri–gug are situated in the gorges and the deep valleys of the mountain.

The big lake 'Od–bar has that name because in its upper part there appear the *maṇḍala* of Rdo–rje–'jigs–byed, in its lower part the *maṇḍala* of Dgyes–pa'i–rdo–rje and in its middle (*bar*) one can see a big light. From the mountain where the lake is located, a river flows towards 'Od–bar Rong. Four rivers[33] flow in the four directions of the cardinal points as seen from the Dag–pa–shel–gyi Ri: east of the Dag–pa–shi Ri flows the river going toward Mi–lpags–mgon–po Rong; in the south flows the river toward 'Od–bar Rong; in the west flows the river going toward Stag–tshang Rong; and in the north the river flows toward Dom–tshang Rong.[34]

After passing through 'Od–bar, we find the Dmar–nag Rakta, the place of Ekajāti. Here also in ancient times Gtsang–pa Rgya–ras–pa and the three, Gnyos, 'Gar and Chos, met on the shores of the lake known as the *bla–mtsho* of the 'Brug–pa.

Proceeding further on, we find more mountains, like Thabs–rdo–rje Ri, Shes–rab–dril–bu Ri, Zung–'jug–dbu–ma Ri and Dag–pa–mkha'–spyod Ri, where Lwa–wa–pa obtained the body of light. In one section of this mountain there is the lake (*bla–mtsho*) of the Dkar–brgyud–kyi bla–ma, and in fact it is known as Dkar–brgyud Bla–mtsho.

South of the Dag–pa–shel Ri there is the Pho–brang G.yu–mtsho,[35] the first among all lakes, dwelling place of the 'Khor–lo–sdom–pa. Here also Gtsang–pa Rgya–ras came to meditate, and he had the vision of the divinities of the *maṇḍala* of 'Khor–lo–sdom–pa. When Rgod–tshang–pa[36] came here to meditate, he stayed in the Nam–mkha'i Phug. All the great *grub–thob* of the Bka'–brgyud–pa, like Mi–pham Rgyal–ba'i–dbang–po,[37] went to meditate on the shores of this lake.

The mountain near the lake is called Mkha'–'gro–rdo'i–lha–khang because it is shaped like a temple. On the mountain slopes is the Nam–mkha'i Phug, the Ting–'dzin Phug and the Rgod–tshang Phug.

Always keeping in the same direction after leaving this lake, we find the lake Skyog–mo Sindhura'i–rgya–mtsho. Here in times past the *ye–shes–kyi mkha'–'gro–ma* gave to Gtsang–pa Rgya–ras–pa the goggles (*mig–ra*) woven from her hair; on the mountain slopes is the Mig–ra Phug.[38] Going further on, we find Par–pa–ta, now called the Rta–rgyud Thang (TG: 24b).

Going downwards, we find Stag–tshang Rong; if we then go uphill again, we come to the Sha–dus La[39] and the lake Kā–la Dung–mtsho, dwelling place of the Dkar–mo–sku'i *ḍākiṇī* or the Dkar–mo–zhi–ba'i *lha–tshogs*. On the mountain slopes is the cavern of Dung–mtsho–ras–pa.[40]

Coming down from the Sha–dus La, we find Dom–tshang Rong, and going up the valley, we come to the place called Lcags Thang–'phrang. From here,

if we go up towards the mountains on the opposite side, we find the Me–bar Lake. Then, through the Skyob–chen La, we return to Cig–car.

Yul–smad and Yul–stod

In the direction of the Sha–skam Pass, there is the Zhing–skyong–gi–dmag–sgar–yod–pa'i La. Crossing it, we come to the following places: Zil–chen–gsang–ba'i Phug, a clay *mchod–rten* arisen by itself, Spor–chen–dpa'–bo'i Rdzong, Spor–chung–dpa'–mo'i Rdzong, the source of the Bdud–rtsi Klu, valleys of medicinal herbs such as the marigold, and woods rich in fruit trees. All these sites are in Yul–smad and Yul–stod.[41]

Tsa–ri Gsar–ma Bkra–shis–ljongs[42]

East of Yul–stod is Tsa–ri Gsar–ma Bkra–shis–ljongs, which comprises three mountain ranges called Byin–legs (Roerich 1976: 543) and Nas–pa–glang–gong; the third one is situated between 'Bog–nam and Mtsho–gnyam. Among these mountains are the lakes G.yu–mtsho–gsar–ma and Mtsho–gnyam–gsar–ma, a marvelous site of the *mkha'–'gro–ma* Gsang–ba.

Together with all the places mentioned so far, there are minor localities (*gnas phrang*), such as Byar–po'i Yul, Mnyal and Lo–ro,[43] which are considered as part of Tsa–ri. To reach these from Yul–stod, it is necessary to go through the Rta–dkar Pass[44] and the Jo–bo Pass.

NOTES

1 It is with deeply felt regrets that I dedicate to the memory of Professor Terry Wylie this brief study based on a text of geographical literature, belonging to the typical Tibetan genre of the *gnas-bshad*. "The guide-book (i.e., *gnas-bshad*) describes more than one pilgrimage place and offers terse directions how to travel between them" (Wylie 1965: 18).

2 *Tsa ri tar ye shes kyi 'khor lo'i gnas kyi ngo mtshar cha shas tsam gsal bar brjod pa'i yi ge skal ldan dga' bskyed dad pa'i nyin byed 'char ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* Hereafter, abbreviated TG.

3 This is the Eighth 'Brug-chen, also called Kun-gzigs Chos-kyi-snang-ba, 1768–1822 (Chandra 1968: 3–4). Many of his writings are listed in Tachikawa 1983: 184–185.

4 A description of this monastery, Sangacholing on the maps, is given in Bailey 1957: 211. There is a picture of it in Ward 1936: 395.

5 On the difference between *gnas-bshad* and *lam-yig*, see Wylie 1965.

6 On the *gnas-bshad* of La-phyi and Ti-se by the Thirty-fourth 'Bri-gung-pa, see DeRossi Filibeck 1978: 215–217.

7 On the tantric cycle of Bde-mchog and the twenty-four *tīrtha*, see Tucci 1933: 42 ff.

8 The same story is also indicated in TG: 2a–2b, in the *gnas-bshad* of La-phyi, 3a–4b, and in the *gnas-bshad* of Ti-se, 5a–6a.

9 On this subject, see Petech 1978: 313–325.

10 On Gnyos Lha-nang-pa (1164–1222), 'Gar Dam-pa-chos-sdings (b. 1180) and Chos Dpal-chen-chos-yes, see Roerich 1976: 601.

11 On the master of the 'Brug-pa, see Stein 1972a: 6–7. The biographies of Ye-shes-rdo-rje I have consulted are in *Bka' brgyud gser kyi 'phreng ba*, vol. *ka*, chapter *da*: 1a–27a, and in Chandra 1968: 572–579.

12 TG: 12a–13a. The descriptions of the temple are in Bailey 1914: 355; Bailey 1957: 171.

13 Eighth chapter of the biography *Rgyal mchog bcu gsum pa'i rnam thar*, entitled "Tsa ri sogs gnas rten khyad par can rnams su chibs kyi zhal lo bsgyur tshul sogs kyi skabs te brgyad pa," 317a–382a.

14 Administratively Tsa-ri is under Guru Namgye [Sku-rab-rnam-rgyal] Rdzong in Kong-po (Bailey 1957: 201). On this *rdzong*, see DeRossi Filibeck 1976: 513.

15 On the Lo-pa, the spelling of which varies from text to text (see, e.g., Zhabs-dkar 1975: 219b), see Bailey 1914: 344; Burrard 1915: 335; Ferrari 1958: 122; Stein 1981a: 9, 59; Wylie 1962: 178.

16 On the word Mon, see Stein 1981a: 13. On the Mon-pa of the Tsa-ri area, see Bailey 1914: 353.

17 Alternatively spelt Gnyal and Dbyar; see Wylie 1962: 174; Roerich 1976: 439, 875, 878, 883.

18 TG: 15a. It is the Takpa Shiri (93°E., 29°N.) of the maps; see Ward 1934: 383.

19 On the pilgrimage around the holy mount, see Bailey 1957: 200 ff.

20 Descriptions of the village of Cig-car (Chikchar on the maps) are given in Bailey 1957: 199; Burrard 1915: 334; Ward 1936: 390.

21 There are two principal *zhing-skyong* of Tsa-ri: the *ye-shes-kyi mkha'-'gro-ma* Seng-ge-gdong-can and the *mkha'-'gro-ma* Rdo-rje'i-g.yu-sgron-ma, also called *zhing-skyong mkha'-'gro-ma mched-gnyis*; see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 190, 285. The *ḍākiṇī* with the lion face has considerable local importance. In the second volume of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's *Gsung-'bum*, there is a brief section dedicated to the rituals and the offerings to be performed in honor of this *ḍākiṇī*. It was written by the Dalai Lama in Bshad-grub-gling during his visit to Dwags-po. Regarding the second *ḍākiṇī*, I may add to what is already known, that her full name is Sman-btsun chen-mo Rdo-rje'i-g.yu-sgron-ma, a name probably linked to the medicinal herbs abounding in Tsa-ri. See, in 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's *Bka'-'bum*, vol. *ca*: 1a-3b, the brief section entitled "Rdo rje g.yu sgron ma'i gsol mchod."

22 The hermits of Tsa-ri were supported by benefactors, both lay and ecclesiastic. Actually, it was the practice, inaugurated by the 'Bri-gung-pa Dbon Shar-gling-pa, to deposit money for them; see Roerich 1976: 579. In Zhabs-dkar 1975: 216b, there is also the mention of a *yon-bdag* of Tsa-ri named Tshul-pa.

23 Roerich, 1976: 671; his biography is also given in *Bka' brgyud gser*, volume *kha*, chapter *tsha*: 1a-31a.

24 This is Sangs-rgyas Dpon-ras Dar-ma-seng-ge; see *Bka' brgyud gser*, volume *ka*, chapter *pha*: 1a-23b.

25 It is the Chosam of the maps; for a brief description, see Ward 1936: 390.

26 The lake of Tshoga is about eleven miles from Cig-car, near Migyitun, the last Tibetan village before the border; see Ward 1936: 390-391; TG: 14a-b.

27 The Karma-pa mentioned here are respectively the Third (1284-1339), the Fourth (1340-1383), the Ninth (1556-1603), and the Tenth (1604-1674) of the Zhwa-nag incarnates; see Richardson 1958-1959.

28 The Second 'Brug-chen (1428-1476).

29 In Chandra 1968: 572, the spelling of the name of this *siddha* is La-wa-pa. I think that it refers to La-ba-pa, belonging to the line of masters who passed on the teaching of the Saṁvara (Bde-mchog) cycle; see Roerich 1976: 362-363, 385.

30 It is the Drolma of the maps.

31 This is the valley where Mipa village of the maps is situated.

[32] The Shagam la of the maps.

[33] TG: 20b–21a. These four rivers are not shown on the maps.

[34] These last two places correspond to Taktsang and Tomtsang of the map in Bailey 1957: 169.

[35] Potrang on the maps.

[36] TG: 23a. Rgod–tshang–pa Mgon–po–dpal (1189–1258), a famous Bka'–brgyud–pa *siddha*, a disciple of Gtsang–pa Rgya–ras–pa.

[37] The Sixth 'Brug–chen (1641–1717).

[38] The term *mig–ra* has been kindly explained to me by Thubten Jampa of Pomaia.

[39] The Shangu Pass on the maps.

[40] See Roerich 1976: 717–720. His probable dates (1267–1326) are given in Prats 1982: 72.

[41] Corresponding to the Yu me and Yu to of the maps, which are the toponomies of both the village and the surrounding area. See TG: 26a; Bailey 1957: 211.

[42] Thar–pa–rgyan (1266–1343), alias Rig–'dzin Kumarāja, founded the new Tsa–ri and introduced the custom forbidding the laying of traps, the catching of animals or the use of fishing nets in the whole area; see Roerich 1976: 197–200. This prohibition was still enforced in Bailey's time.

[43] Lo–ro is the valley in which the two rivers, the White and Black Lo–ro Chu, flow; their confluence forms the Bya–yul Chu, Cha yul on the maps.

[44] The Takar la of the map in Bailey 1957: 169.

THE RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES AT SA–SKYA[1]

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Introduction

This paper gives a brief account of the religious buildings in the town of Sa–skya.[2] Located about fifty miles west of Shigatse (Gzhis–kha–rtse) at an altitude of 15,000 feet above sea level, Sa–skya possessed some of Tibet's largest buildings, repositories of great spiritual treasures. The buildings stood as a testimony to the religious activity and secular power of the 'Khon lineage, lords of Sa–skya, and to the flourishing of Buddhism in Tibet.

The information on a building includes, when available, the date of its construction or, in parenthesis, the earliest date of its recorded existence, the builder, the number of pillars, its location, and whether it had a gold roof; and for the large buildings, the names of their important rooms and number of pillars. While a detailed account of the history of these buildings and their contents is beyond the scope of this paper, it should provide useful information for those studying the history of Sa–skya.

There were two major monastic institutions in Sa–skya: the South Monastery (Lha–khang Chen–mo or Chos–sde Lho) for the study and practice of the Sūtrayāna and the North Monastery (Chos–sde Byang) for the study and practice of the Mantrayāna. The North Monastery had two sites. The higher ranking site was the Bzhi–thog Pho–brang with its Bla–ma Ben–tshang–pa; the lower ranking was the Gsang–sngags Bde–chen–gling.[3] In the South Monastery is a fabulous white conch shell called *chos–dung dkar–po rgyang–grags* which was given to Chos–rgyal 'Phags–pa (1235–1280) by Khubilai Khan. The Sa–skya–pas regard this conch shell as being the remains of the Buddha from one of his previous lives as a mollusk, as having existed at the time of Śākyamuni Buddha, and as having gone to China from India before coming to Tibet. In many of the modern picture books which include Sa–skya, pictures of this conch can be found.

The sources for this paper are:

1. Personal communication with Geshe Thukjhey Wangchuk (Dge–bshes Thugs–rje–dbang–phyug, b. 1928), a resident of Sa–skya for approximately twenty–five years, 1935–1960, now residing in the Seattle area (hereafter GTW).

2. Thukjhey Wangchuk, Geshe, *A History of Buddhism and the Sakyapa sect of Tibetan Buddhism = 'Phags bod du rgyal bstan spyi dang bye brag dpal ldan sa skya pa'i bstan pa rin po che'i lo rgyus ngo mtshar nor bu'i bang mdzod*, a 361–page *dbu–can* manuscript written in 1980 in Boulder, Colorado (hereafter HBS).

3. Kun–dga'–rin–chen, *Gdan sa chen po dpal ldan sa skya'i gtsug lag khang dang rten gsum gi dkar chag*,[4] a 58–folio *dbu–med* manuscript, presumably dating from the seventeenth century, describing Sa–skya's temples and their contents, and which H.H. Jigdal Dagchen Sakya Rinpoche ('Jigs–bral Bdag–chen Sa–skya Rin–po–che) kindly allowed me to use for this paper (hereafter SKC).

4. Kaḥ–thog Si–tu Chos–kyi–rgya–mtsho (1880–1925), *Gangs ljongs dbus gtsang gnas bskor lam yig nor bu zla ba shel gyi se mo do*, (Tashi–jong: Sungrab Nyamso Gyun–phel Parkhang, 1972), an account of a pilgrimage to Central Tibet during the years 1918 to 1920 which devotes pp. 435–451 to describing Sa–skya's buildings and their contents (hereafter Si–tu).

5. Ngag–dbang–kun–dga'–bsod–nams, 'Jam–mgon A–myes–zhabs (1576–1659), *'Dzam gling byang phyogs kyi thub pa'i rgyal tshab chen po dpal ldan sa skya pa'i gdung rabs rin po che ji ltar byon pa'i tshul gyi rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rin po che'i bang mdzod dgos 'dod kun 'byung*, (Dolanji: Tashi Dorji, 1975), a history of the 'Khon lineage of prince–abbots of Sa–skya, written in 1629 (hereafter DRCM).

6. Stag–tshang–pa Śrī–bhu–ti–bhadra, *Rgya bod yig tshang mkhas pa dga' byed chen mo 'dzam gling gsal ba'i me long*, Volume 2, (Thimphu: Kunsang Topgyel and Mani Dorji, 1979), a history of China and Tibet written in the fourteenth century (hereafter GBYT).

7. Pictures and maps of Sa–skya in three sources:

a. Cassinelli and Ekvall (see note 2).

b. Ngapo Ngawang Jigmei *et al.*, *Tibet*, (New York: McGraw–Hill Book Co., 1981), pp. 260–271 on Sa–skya.

c. *Chung-kuo-lü-yu*, 29 (1983): 48–51.

A book on the South Monastery was recently published in China (U–yon Lhan–khang, Ed. 1985). It has many excellent pictures of the South Monastery's vast contents. I have not used the book as a source, however, for I was not able to consult with GTW concerning its accuracy.

Most of Sa–skya's buildings were constructed during the time of Sa–skya's Five Patriarchs (*gong–ma lnga*) in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries and of Sa–skya's rule of Tibet (mid–thirteenth to mid–fourteenth century). The Five Patriarchs are Sa–chen Kun–dga'–snying–po (1092–1158), Slob–dpon Bsod–nams–rtse–mo (1142–1182), Rje–btsun Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan (1147–1216), Sa–skya Paṇḍita Kun–dga'–rgyal–mtshan (1182–1251), and Chos–rgyal 'Phags–pa Blo–gros–rgyal–mtshan (1235–1280). Subsequent Sa–skya throne holders were rarely able to build more temples since they were occupied with the maintenance of the existing structures and no longer had the resources of Tibet and China to call upon as had previous throne holders when Sa–skya ruled Tibet.

Most of the buildings were destroyed in the 1960s during China's Cultural Revolution. Among the temples, only the South Monastery remains intact,

in good repair, and in use as a religious building; among the *stūpas* outside the South Monastery, only the Rnam–rgyal Sku–'bum remains. Thus, this paper serves to preserve the memory of these buildings, and thereby an understanding of the glory of Sa–skya and Tibet.

This introduction is followed by a chronological description of Sa–skya's buildings, then by Appendix I, maps illustrating the buildings' locations in Sa–skya, next by Appendix II, an index of the buildings with reference to their chronology and place in the maps, and finally by Appendix III, the translation of lists of Sa–skya's buildings found in SKC, a seventeenth century guide to Sa–skya.

Chronological Description of Sa–skya's Buildings

The Eighth Century

Padmasambhava erected four *mchod–rten* (*stūpas*) which were like *rdo–rje'i phur–pa* and were called "Sa–skya's Four Unchanging Spikes" *(Sa–skya mi–'gyur–ba'i gzer bzhi** [5] (HBS: 105). In 1919, Si–tu (442) said he identified two of the "Four *mchod–rten* of Rdo–rje–phur–pa" (*Rdo–rje–phur–pa'i mchod–rten bzhi*). See the map of the Sa–skya Gdan–sa for the locations of these four *mchod–rten*. The one close to the South Monastery was repaired by Sngags–'chang chen–po Kun–dga'–rin–chen (1517–1584) (GTW).

The Eleventh Century

In 1073, the Water–Female–Ox year, 'Khon Dkon–mchog–rgyal–po (1034–1102) built the Sa–skya Monastery, whose proper name was the Sgo–rum Gzim–spyil Dkar–po* (SKC: ff. 5a, 9a–13a). The Sa–skya Monastery took its name, "Sa–skya," from the pale (*skya*) earth (*sa*) on the side of Mt. Dpon–po Ri on which the monastery was built. The Sa–skya lineage, Sa–skya religious tradition, the town of Sa–skya, and the town's inhabitants, the "Sa–skya–pas," all took their name from this distinctive "pale earth." 'Khon Dkon–mchog–rgyal–po's son, Sa–skya–pa chen–po (Sa–chen) Kun–dga'–snying–po (1092–1158) was the first of his family to be called "Sa–skya." Previously his lineage was known as either "Lha–rigs" (Divine Lineage) or " 'Khon–rigs" (Strife Lineage), henceforth "Sa–skya–rigs" as well.

The Bse–'bag Nag–po 'Phur–shes, a mask of Mahākāla, was kept in the Sgo–rum's *mgon–khang*. The mask is one of Sa–skya's "Four Wondrous Objects of Worship" (*ngo–mtshar–ba'i rten bzhi*) and was given to Sa–chen Kun–dga'–snying–po in the twelfth century. It was brought from India to Tibet by the great translator Lo–chen Rin–chen–bzang–po (958–1055) presumably in the eleventh century (SKC: ff. 6a–9a). The mask's present whereabouts is not known.

Si–tu described the Sgo–rum in some detail (445–446). The Sgo–rum Rtse'i Lha–khang had two pillars and several thrones including the one used by Sa–skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) when he wrote the *Sdom gsum rab dbye*. The *mgon–khang* mentioned above is also known as Sa–chen Kun–dga'–

snying–po's toilet room. Next to it was Sa–chen's *gzim–chung* (bedroom) whose back side had an inner room with six pillars. The Sgo–rum *dpe–mdzod* (library) had about two thousand books, the works of the great translators, disrespectfully strewn about — a sure sign of the decline of the Buddha's teachings. The library is also called the Dpe–khang. I was not able to obtain a map of this building.

The Twelfth Century

The 'Khon Sku–'bum* was built to honor and to house the remains of 'Khon Dkon–mchog–rgyal–po (HBS: 121; SKC: f. 28a). It was part of a special interment which would repel *klu* (*nāga*) sickness and other diseases from Sa–skya. The Sku–'bum was SW of the Sgo–rum.

Ba–ri Lo–tsā–ba (1040–1112) built the Rnam–rgyal Mchod–rten, one of Sa–skya's "Four Wondrous Objects of Worship" (HBS: 124). Over it he built the Rnam–rgyal Lha–khang* (HBS: 124). Within the Lha–khang a *mchod–rten* was built over the Rnam–rgyal Mchod–rten by Sa–chen Kun–dga'–blo–gros (1729–1789) (GTW). After the destruction of the Sa–skya buildings in the 1960s, the Rnam–rgyal Mchod–rten was found to be relatively undamaged since it was protected by the *mchod–rten* which Sa–chen Kun–dga'–blo–gros had built. The SKC, which calls the Rnam–rgyal Mchod–rten the "Rnam–rgyal Sku–'bum," states that it contains relics of Sangs–rgyas 'Od–srung (Kāśyapa Buddha) and is located W of the 'Khon Sku–'bum (SKC: f. 28b).

Ba–ri Lo–tsā–ba built the G.yu–mkhar–mo Gtsug–lag–khang to house the Rje–btsun Sgrol–ma Sems–dpa'–gsum–brtsegs*, a marvelous statue of Tārā and another of Sa–skya's "Four Wondrous Objects of Worship" (HBS: 125). SKC (f. 5a) calls it simply the G.yu–mkhar–mo'i Sgrol–ma in its list of the "Four Wondrous Objects of Worship." The building survived the 1960s, but the contents, including the statue, were destroyed (GTW).

Sa–chen Kun–dga'–snying–po built the Dbu–rtse rnying–ma* S of the Sgo–rum. His grandson, Sa–skya Paṇḍita Kun–dga'–rgyal–mtshan (1182–1251) made its principal object of worship, the 'Jam–dbyangs Gzi–'od–'bar–ba. This statue of 'Jam–dbyangs, another one of Sa–skya's "Four Wondrous Objects of Worship," is the inner object of worship (*nang–rten*) of Rje–btsun Rin–po–che Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan (1145–1216), Sa–skya Paṇḍita's principal teacher and paternal uncle (SKC: ff. 5a, 13a–13b). The statue miraculously survived the destruction of the 1960s and was discovered relatively undamaged amid the ruins of the Dbu–rtse Rnying–ma (GTW). It presently resides in the Lha–khang Chen–mo in Sa–skya. In the thirteenth century, extensive additions which are described below were made to the Dbu–rtse Rnying–ma. The A–ci Mchod–rten* N of the Sgo–rum was built by Sa–chen Kun–dga'–snying–po as a memorial for his mother (SKC: f. 26a–b). This *mchod–rten* is also called the A–phyi 'Bum (HBS: 139).

Bsod–nams–rtse–mo (1142–1182) built the Chu–mig Rdzing–kha's Lha–khang. His brother, Dpal–chen 'Od–po (1150–1203), added a turquoise roof, golden *gañjira*, and paintings of deities (HBS: 109). Later it fell into disrepair and a Bde–mchog Mgon–khang was built at its location by Sngags–'chang chen–po Kun–dga'–rin–chen (1517–1584) (DRCM: f. 262b).

The outer objects of worship* (*phyi–rten*) for Ba–ri Lo–tsā–ba, Sa–chen Kun–dga'–snying–po, Slob–dpon Bsod–nams–rtse–mo, and Dpal–chen 'Od–po were built in an area described in the seventeenth century as W of the Dbu–rtse Gsar–ma Gser–thog Chen–mo and under the 'Bum–thang (SKC: f. 26b). These *phyi–rten* were *stūpas* made of clay and painted with gold (HBS: 156).

The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

It is well known that Tibetans often take their names from their residences. With this single clue, we are able to deduce the dates and residents of some of Sa–skya's religious buildings. Included among these residents are certain students of Rje–btsun Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan and Sa–skya Paṇḍita and four great families who allied themselves with Sa–skya. The families are the Shar–pa, Nub–pa, Gung–pa, and Khang–gsar chen–mo–ba (GBYT: 70–77).

The Zur–khang Bla–brang*, NW of the Nyi–thog Bla–brang (SKC: f. 5b), was the residence of Dkar Shākya–grags, an outstanding student of Rje–btsun Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan (SKC: f. 28b). The picture becomes somewhat muddled when we read Zur–khang–pa Shākya–grags was a student of Sa–skya Paṇḍita (HBS: 153). Whether the same Shākya–grags is referred to in both cases remains to be determined.

The Gsal–la Bla–brang**, in the area SW of the Rin–chen–sgang (SKC: f. 5b), may have been the residence of Sa–la–ba Dbang–phyug–grags, another prominent student of Rje–btsun Rin–po–che (SKC: f. 28b). GTW calls the student Gsal–ba Dbang–phyug–grags (HBS: 136).

The Thirteenth Century

The Nyi–thog Bla–brang***, W of the Sgo–rum (SKC: f. 5b), was given to 'U–yug–pa Bsod–nams–(rigs–pa'i–)seng–ge by Zangs–tsha Bsod–nams–rgyal–mtshan (1184–1239) (GBYT: 73). Somewhat surprisingly, 'U–yug–pa is considered a member of the Nub family (GBYT: 73), but Nub Rig–'dzin–grags, one of Rje–btsun Rin–po–che's best students, is not included in the family (GBYT: 73–74). GTW thinks the Nyi–thog Bla–brang must have come to be known as the Thub–dbang Don–yod*.

The Bla–brang Gung–rnams**, N of the Sgo–rum (SKC: f. 5b), was the residence of Gung–pa Skyo–ston Dri–med, a student of Sa–skya Paṇḍita (HBS: 153; GBYT: 74), and members of successive generations of the Gung–pa family (GBYT: 74).

The Gzim–khang Rnying–ma*, E of the Dbu–rtse Rnying–ma (SKC: f. 5a), which was also known as the Bla–brang Shar* at the time the SKC was

written (SKC: f. 20a), is the Gtsug–lag–khang built over two important caves used by Sa–chen Kun–dga'–snying–po. The southern cave, called Rdo–rje Phug–pa, is where Sa–chen had visions of 'Jam–dbyangs (Mañjughoṣa) and received the Zhen–pa bzhi–bral ("Parting from the Four Attractions") teaching. The northern cave, called Phag–mo Phug–pa, is where Sa–chen taught the Lam–'bras to Phag–mo–grub–pa. Both Sngags–'chang Kun–dga'–rin–chen and his son Grags–pa–blo–gros (1563–1617) repaired these structures and Sngags–'chang Kun–dga'–rin–chen rebuilt the Gtsug–lag–khang (SKC: ff. 20a–21a). The Bla–brang Shar was bought by Shar–pa Ye–shes–'byung (–gnas = Shes–rab–'byung–gnas) from Dpon–chen Shākya–bzang–po (GBYT: 70). Both these persons flourished during the middle of the thirteenth century. Thus we can conclude the caves existed at the time of Sa–chen Kun–dga'–snying–po and the structure over them certainly was built by the thirteenth century at the latest. In modern times the Gzim–khang Rnying–ma and Bla–brang Shar were distinguished from each other; the Gzim–khang was higher on the hill and known by the name of Thabs–shar (GTW).

The Khang–gsar Chen–mo**, built by Dpon–chen Shākya–bzang–po (GBYT: 78) near the Dus–mchod Bla–brang (SKC: f. 5a), was presumably the residence of Bla–ma Grags–pa'i–'od–zer, a Ti–shri (Imperial Preceptor) (HBS: 162–163; GBYT: 74–75), and was certainly the residence of some of his family's descendants (GBYT: 75–77).

The Yang–dgon Bla–brang**, E of Bde–chen Bla–brang (SKC: f. 5b), was presumably the residence of Rgyal–ba Yang–dgon–pa, Sa–skya Paṇḍita's student (HBS: 153).

The Gnyan Bla–brang**, E of the Nyi–lde Nub (SKC: f. 5b), was presumably the residence of Gnyan Dar–ma–seng–ge, another of Sa–skya Paṇḍita's students (HBS: 153).

It is not known by whom or when the Bzhi–thog Pho–brang* (SKC: ff. 5a, 23a–25a) was built.[6] The building may have been built by 1239 since Phyag–na–rdo–rje (1239–1267), younger brother of Chos–rgyal 'Phags–pa (1235–1280), may have been born there (HBS: 111). Although the Bzhi–thog's origins are uncertain, there is no question of its importance in Sa–skya affairs. It was both the government building from the fourteenth century to the 1950s and the residence of the Gzhi–thog Bla–brang, a branch of the 'Khon family which began with Mkhas–btsun chen–po Nam–mkha'–legs–pa (1305–1343) and ended with Slob–dpon chen–po Chu–mig–pa Blo–gros–dbang–phyug (1402–1481). This branch of the family took its name from the Bzhi–thog Pho–brang. The building may have originally been four stories tall and hence the name Bzhi–thog ("Four Stories"), but by modern times it was known by the homonym "Gzhi–thog," as used in the HBS and DRCM.

Rje–btsun Rin–po–che (Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan) and Bzang [*sic* = Zangs]–tsha Bsod–nams–rgyal–mtshan (1184–1239) built the courtyard with

twenty-four pillars in the center of the Dbu-rtse Gsar-rnying* (SKC: f. 15a), which is to say they built the Dbu-rtse Gsar-ma. These two also built the Bla-ma Lha-khang* on top of the Dbu-rtse Rnying-ma (see Map 9).

To protect the buildings on Mt. Dpon-po Ri from falling rocks, Zangs-tsha had the wall called Dan-gyi Lcags-ri built.

Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa had Dpon-chen Shākya-bzang-po build the Rnam-thar Sgo-gsum* adjacent to the Dbu-rtse Gsar-ma in the Water-Male-Dog year (1262) (SKC: f. 14b).

The Dpon-chen also built the Dbu-rtse Sgo-rum Gser-thog Che-mo** (HBS: 156). In modern times, the Sgo-rum did not have a gold roof. The Dbu-rtse's gold roof is described as being over the Dbu-rtse Gsar-ma in one source (SKC: f. 26b), but by GTW as being over the Dbu-rtse Rnying-ma. I have used GTW's eye-witness report.

The outer objects of worship* (*phyi-rten*) for Rje-btsun Rin-po-che, Sa-skya Paṇḍita, and Zangs-tsha were *stūpas* built near the outer objects of worship for the previous Sa-skya Gong-ma (SKC: f. 26b). Dpon-chen Shākya-bzang-po added gold and copper to the seven *stūpas*' *gdugs-chos-'khor*, the upper part of these objects of worship (HBS: 156).

Dpon-chen Shākya-bzang-po began the Sprul-pa'i (Thub-bstan) Lha-khang Chen-mo. It was completed by Kun-dga'-bzang-po, the second of Sa-skya's *dpon-chen* (HBS: 158). This temple may not have been completed until the time of Bdag-nyid chen-po Bzang-po-dpal (1262–1324) some thirty or forty years later (HBS: 163–4).

Dpon-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po built the Dus-mchod Bla-brang, Lha-khang Bla-brang, and the Rin-chen-sgang Bla-brang* (HBS: 158; DRCM: f. 128a). The Rin-chen-sgang had a *mgon-khang* and a *'du-khang* (Assembly Hall) with twelve pillars (Si-tu: 449).

Dharmapālarakṣita is associated with the 'Bum Chen-po* (SKC: f. 27b) which is later called the G.yu-thog Chen-mo* (GTW).

The Fourteenth Century

The Zhwa-lu Khang-gsar**, built by a Zhwa-lu *dpon-chen*, was the birthplace of Bla-ma dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312–1375) (HBS: 164).

The Fourteenth or Fifteenth Century

Theg-chen Chos-rgyal (1329–1425) built the Gzhal-yas Lha-khang* over the Rnam-thar Sgo-gsum (SKC: f. 17b).

Theg-chen Chos-rgyal Kun-dga'-bkra-shis-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po (the same lama just mentioned) built the Byang-chub Mchod-rten* (GTW). The same structure is called the Theg-chen Chos-rgyal Phyi-rten (SKC: f. 28b). Usually *phyi-rten* are built by the disciples of a lama, but the lama may sometimes build his own, as in this case (GTW).

The Sixteenth Century

Sngags–'chang Kun–dga'–rin–chen built the Gsang–sngags Bde–chen–gling* (HBS: 176), the Bde–mchog Mgon–khang,[7] located where the Chu–mig Rdzing–kha used to be, and other temples, and he made extensive repairs of damage done by his enemies (DRCM: f. 262b). 'Jam–mgon A–myes–zhabs listed twenty–seven temples in Sa–skya and in Kha'u–brag–rdzong which Sngags–'chang chen–po repaired (DRCM: ff. 264b–265a):

1. Sgo–rum Gzims–spyil–dkar–po's Mgon–khang Mdo–phug (a cave under the Sgo–rum's Mgon–khang)
2. Dpe–khang Chen–mo (Sgo–rum's library)
3. Bla–ma Lha–khang (part of Dbu–rtse Rnying–ma)
4. Dbu–rtse Rnying–ma
5. 'Khon Sku–'bum
6. G.yu–thog
7. 'Bum–thang
8. Gzhi–thog Mgon–khang (either the Beg–tse Mgon–khang, or the Pu–tra Mgon–khang; see Map 10)
9. Zur–khang
10. Rdzong–chung
11. Nyi–lde
12. Dge–'phel
13. Sgrol–ma (G.yu–mkhar–mo Gtsug–lag–khang)
14. Bsam–gling (S of Sa–skya)
15. Lha–khang Bla–brang
16. Lha–khang Chen–mo
17. Mgon–khang Nub
18. Rin–bzang Sku–'bum
19. Shāk–bzang
20. Sgang–dkar
21. Gzhon–dbang–rnams; and furthermore (at Kha'u–brag–rdzong):
22. Skyed–lhas Mgon–khang
23. 'Du–khang; and the caves:
24. Sa–chen Phug
25. Rtse–mo Phug
26. 'Phags–pa Phug
27. Phyag–na Phug.

The outer objects of worship* (*phyi–rten*) of Sa–lo 'Jam–dbyangs–kun–dga'–bsod–nams (1485–1533) and Sngags–'chang Kun–dga'–rin–chen were built W of the 'Bum–thang along with the seven others previously built there (SKC: f. 26b).

The Seventeenth Century

The SKC was written in this century, so we can safely assume all the buildings mentioned in it were still in existence. See Appendix III for a translation of the SKC's lists of buildings.

The Eighteenth or Nineteenth Century

Dbang–sdud–snying–po (c. 1765–1806) built the 'Jigs–byed Lha–khang* close to the Lha–khang Chen–mo (HBS: 182).

The Nineteenth Century

Bkra–shis–rin–chen (d. 1865) built the Sgrol–ma Pho–brang* near the Sgrol–ma Lha–khang, and Kun–dga'–rin–chen (c. 1830) built the Phun–tshogs Pho–brang* (GTW).

The Nineteenth or Twentieth Century

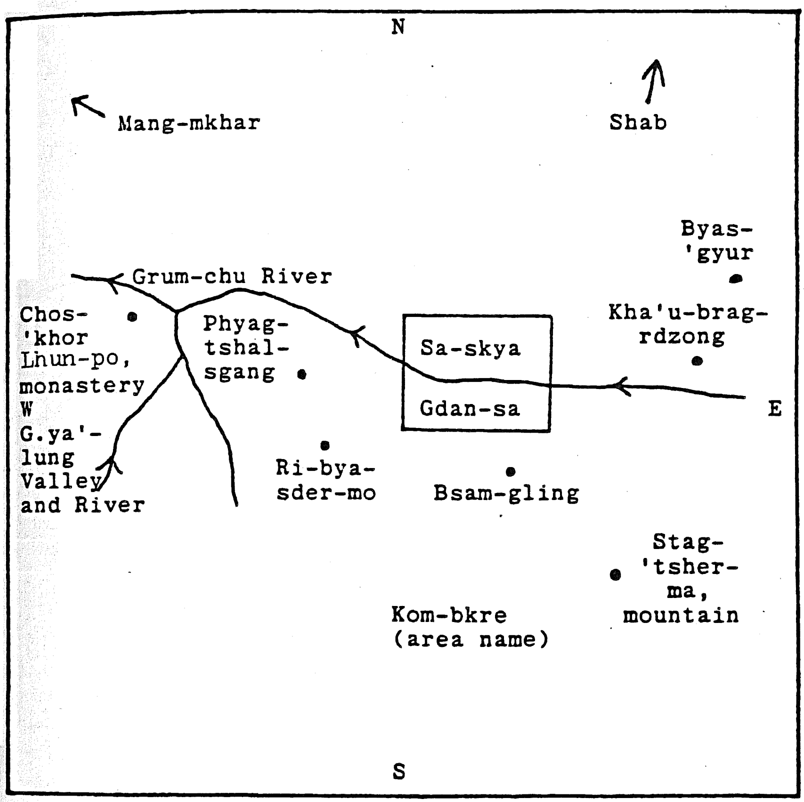
The Bde–skyid Bla–brang, a branch of the Phun–tshogs Pho–brang, was built sometime after the Phun–tshogs Pho–brang (GTW). The Nags–rtse Bla–brang, a branch of the Sgrol–ma Pho–brang, and about a stone's throw from it, was built in the time of Drag–shul Phrin–las–rin–chen (1871–1935) (GTW).

The Twentieth Century

At the end of the 1940s, the Rtse–chen Lha–khang (along with the Lha–chen Phun–tshogs–gling and Lhun–sgrub Pho–brang), named after a statue of Brtse–ba chen–po Sa–chen Kun–dga'–snying–po presently kept in the Lha–khang Chen–mo, having fallen into a state of disrepair, was razed and rebuilt under the direction of Khri–chen Ngag–dbang–mthu–stobs–dbang–phyug (1900–1950) (GTW).

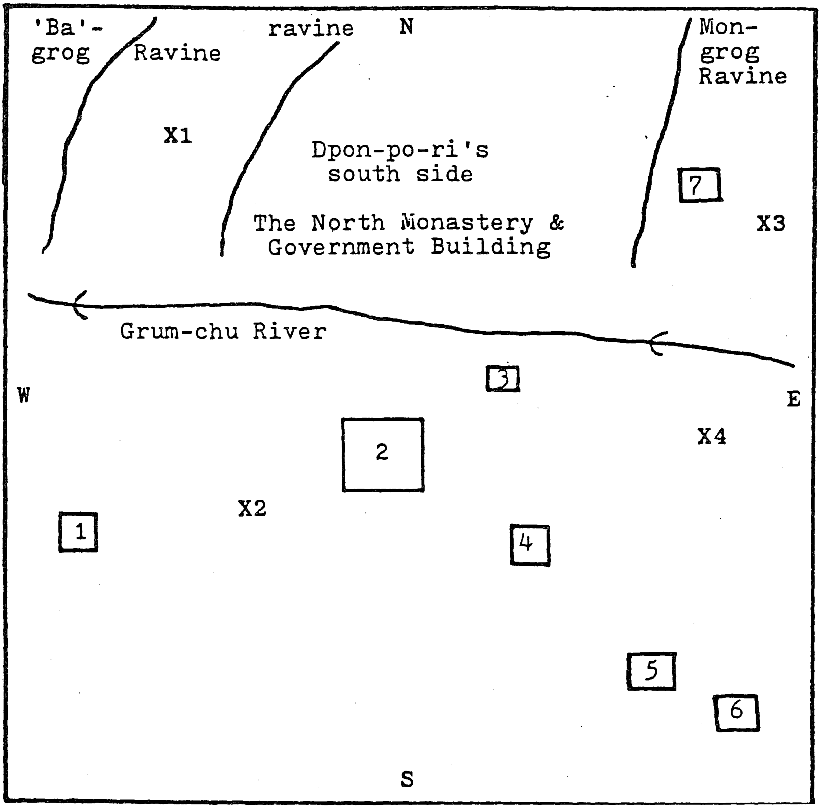
APPENDIX I: KEY TO THE MAPS

Map 1: Sa–skya and Environs



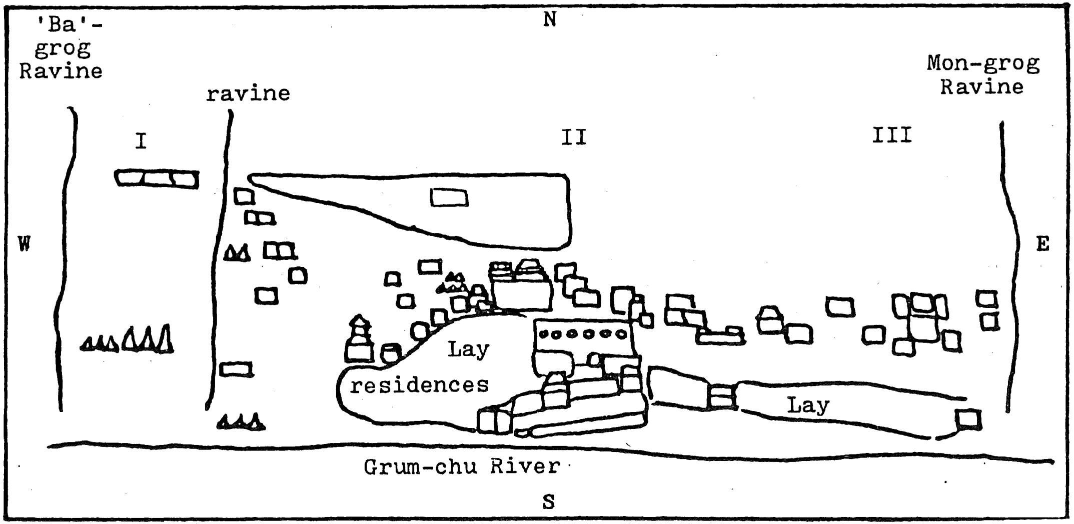
Ri–bya–sder–mo is a hill made from the earth and rocks left over from building the South Monastery. At Phyag–tshal–sgang, Jo–bo–rje Atīśa beheld the syllables Hūṁ, Hriḥ and Dhī on the side of Mt. Dpon–po Ri and prophesied the Bodhisattva emanations to come to Sa–skya. For more maps of the Sa–skya area, see Maps 2, 3 and 4 in Cassinelli and Ekvall 1969.

Map 2: Sa–skya Gdan–sa



(1) Zi–thang Bla–brang. (2) Lha–khang Chen–mo, Sprul–pa'i or Thub–bstan. (3) Lo–spe Bla–brang. (4) Sgrol–ma Pho–brang. (Nags–rtse Bla–brang is a stone's throw away.) (5) Phun–tshogs Pho–brang. (6) Bde–skyid Bla–brang. (7) Bla–brang Rin–chen–sgang. The Xs mark the four *stūpas* built by Padmasambhava. X1 is close to the Bde–mchog Mgon–khang. X2 was repaired by Sngags–'chang Kun–dga'–rin–chen.

Map 3: Sa–skya North of the Grum–chu River
(Sketch based on Plate 1 in Cassinelli and Ekvall 1969.)



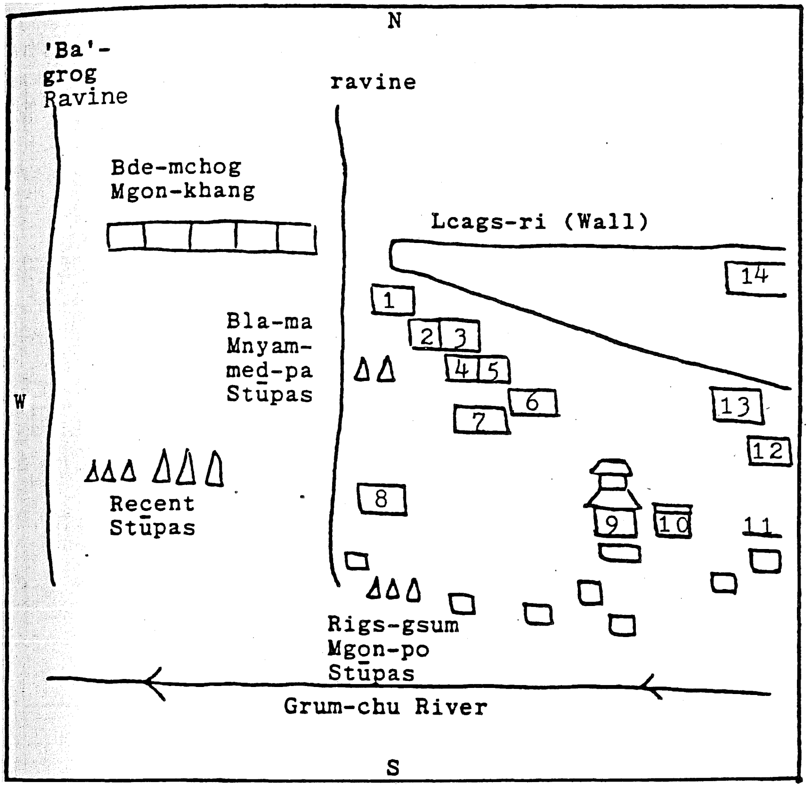
'Khon Dkon–mchog–rgyal–po purchased the area with earth (*sa*) which is pale (*skya*) between 'Ba' Grog and Mon Grog Ravines in order to build the Sa–skya Sgo–rum. This map, divided into three sections which are portrayed in Maps 4, 5 and 6, shows the religious structures on the south side of Mt. Dpon–po Ri and north of the Grum–chu River.

Map 4: Sa–skya North of the Grum–chu River, I

(1) Gdung–rabs Lha–khang.
(2) Sgang–ga: contained a *stūpa*.
(3) Shong–nga: contained a *stūpa*.
(4) Shāk–bzang Nub.
(5) Shāk–bzang Shar.
(6) 'Du–khang.
(7) Sku–'bum.
(8) Mgon–khang Nub.
(9) Byang–chub Mchod–rten.
(10) Rnam–rgyal Sku–'bum.
(11) 'Khon Sku–'bum.
(12) Mngon–dga'–bde–can.
(13) Zur–khang (a.k.a. Rje–btsun).
(14) Gsang–sngags Bde–chen–gling.

The unnumbered buildings are lay persons' residences.

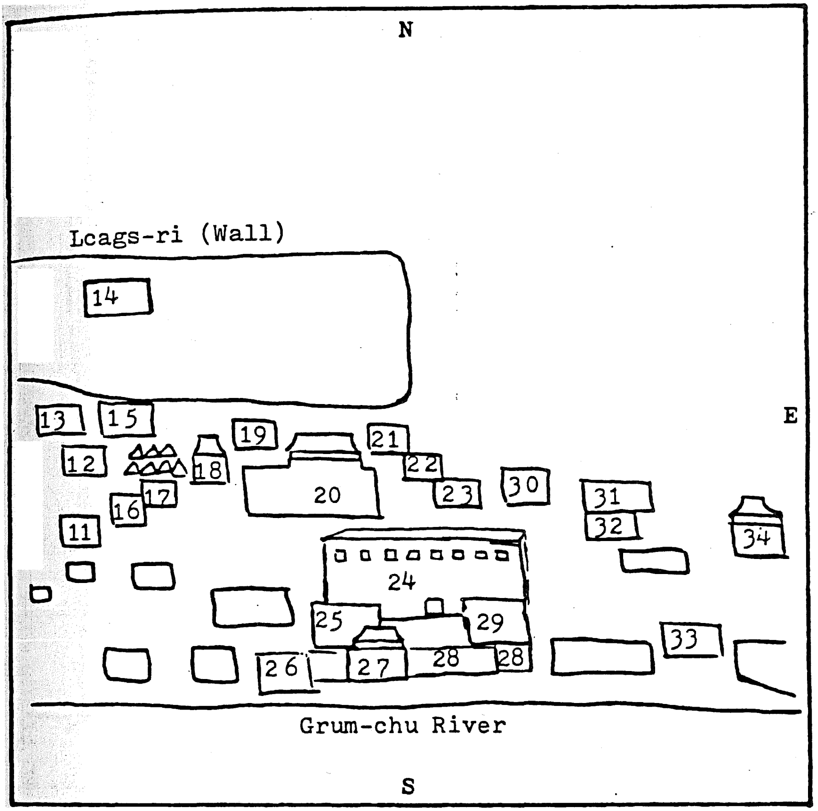
Map 4


N
'Ba'-
grog
Ravine
ravine
Bde-mchog
Mgon-khang
Lcags-ri (Wall)
14
1
2
3
Bla-ma
Mnyam-
med-pa
Stūpas
4
5
W
6
13
7
12
Recent
Stūpas
8
9
10
11
Rigs-gsum
Mgon-po
Stūpas
Grum-chu River
S

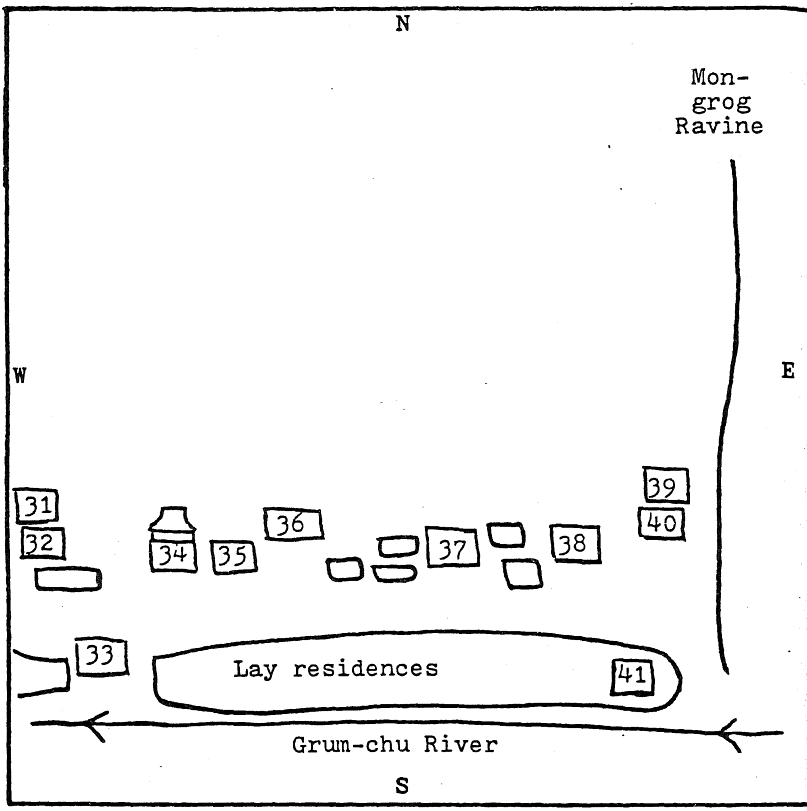
Map 5: Sa–skya North of the Grum–chu River, II

(11) to (14) and unnumbered buildings; see previous map.
(15) Thub–bstan Don–yod. (Below it are triangular shapes representing nine Phyi–rten [Outer Objects of Worship] including the one for Sa–chen Kun–dga'–snying–po which dripped holy water in the winter.)
(16) Dga'–ldan: contained Bse–khrab Mgon–khang.
(17) G.yu–thog Chen–mo.
(18) 'Bum–thang Chen–po: with gold roof.
(19) Sgo–rum Gzim–spyil Dkar–po.
(20) Dbu–rtse Rnying–gsar–ma: with gold roof.
(21) Rmug–chung Mgon–khang (a.k.a. Rgyal–chen Shugs–ldan Mgon–khang).
(22) Gzim–khang Rnying–ma or Thabs–shar.
(23) Bla–brang Shar.
(24) Bzhi–thog Pho–brang.
(25) Pu–tra Mgon–khang.
(26) Zan–tshul.
(27) Chos–khri Chen–mo: with gold roof.
(28) 'Cham–khang.
(29) 'Phel–rgyas Bla–brang.
(30) Bkra–shis–brtsegs Nub.
(31) Bkra–shis–brtsegs Shar.
(32) Sgog–ra Bla–brang.
(33) Dus–mchod Bla–brang.
(34) Zhal–dro Lha–khang: with gold roof.

Map 5

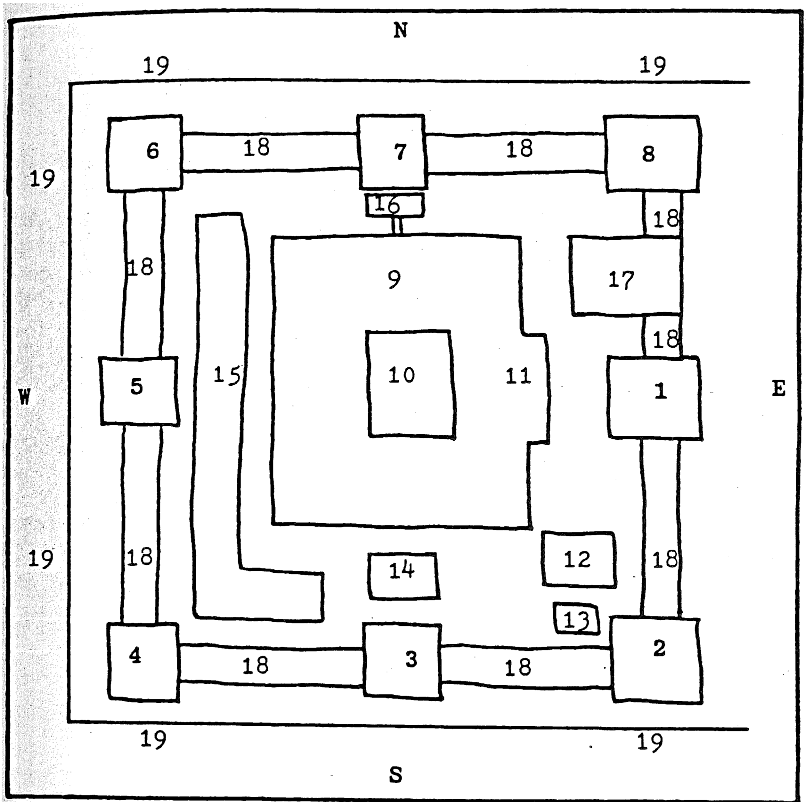

N
Lcags-ri (Wall)
14
13
15
E
19
21
12
18
22
20
23
30
31
17
16
32
34
11
24
25
29
33
28
26
27
28
Grum-chu River
S

Map 6: Sa–skya North of the Grum–chu River, III



(31) to (34): see previous map. (35) Dge–'phel. (36) Nyi–lde Shar–Nub. (37) Zhabs–brtan Lha–khang. (38) Ldan–khang (a.k.a. Shar–gling Chen–po, a lay residence). (39) Shar–gling Bla–brang. (40) Rdzong–chung Bla–brang. (41) Bla–brang Grang–mo–che. Unnumbered buildings are lay persons' residences.

Map 7: South Monastery Complex

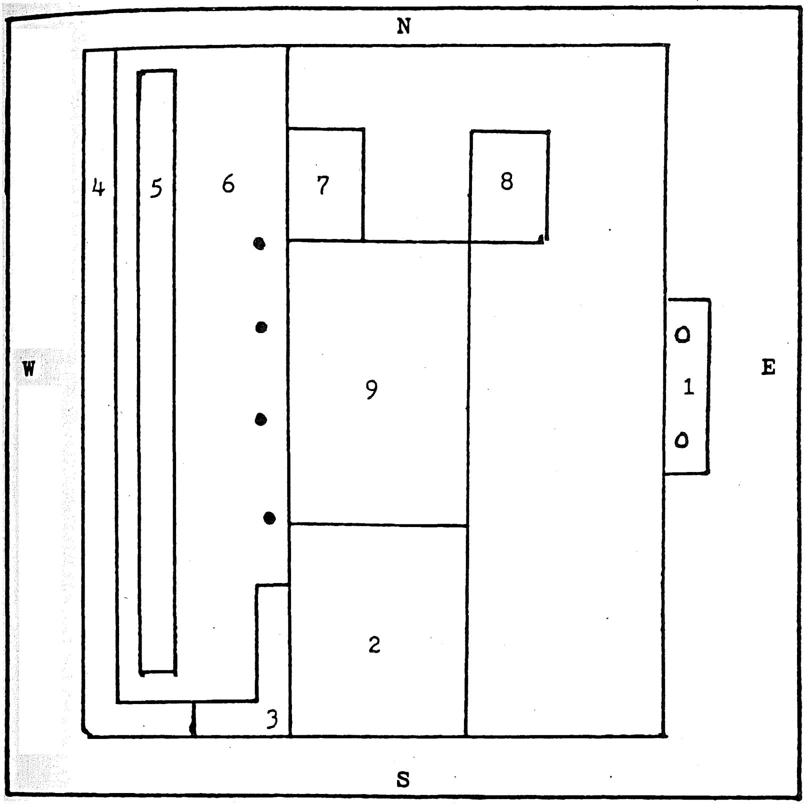


(1) Sgo–pad: this large structure is the only entrance to the South Monastery complex. (2), (4), and (8) are large buildings; (3), (5), (6) and (7) are smaller buildings. (9) Lha–khang Chen–mo (South Monastery: main building). (10) Inner courtyard (*rdo–bcal*). (11) East gate: the only entrance to the main building. (12) 'Jigs–byed Lha–khang. (13) Mngon–dga'–shag. (14) Lha–khang Bla–brang. (15) Sixteen residences for monks. (16) Toilets with upper floor entrance. (17) Rtse–chen Lha–khang: includes Lha–chen Phun–tshogs–gling and Lhun–sgrub Pho–brang. (18) Inner wall: at least twenty–five to thirty feet high. (19) Outer wall: eight to ten feet high.

Map 8: The South Monastery's Main Temple

(1) The entrance: the two circles represent statues — Rta–mgrin in the north and Mi–g.yo–ba in the south.
(2) The Phur–sgrub Tshogs–khang: assembly hall for performing the Vajrakīla meditation.
(3) A golden lettered *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur*.
(4) The bookshelves: eight stacks high with more than sixty sections (Ngapo 1981: 264).
(5) The row of statues which includes the Thub–chen 'Dzam–gling–g.yas–bzhag (*ibid.*: 263), a statue of Lord Buddha which Chos–rgyal 'Phags–pa had built as an inner object of worship (*nang–rten*) for his teacher and uncle, Sa–skya Paṇḍita. The statue contains a tooth of Śākyamuni Buddha (GTW).
(6) The Mjal–khang or 'Du–khang: the main assembly hall with four rows of ten pillars. The four largest pillars are represented by large dots near the inner courtyard (see 9). Cassinelli and Ekvall (1969: 291–292) describe these.
(7) Gdung–rten Nub: site of the *stūpa*s of the Sa–skya Gong–ma (Ngapo 1981: 264).
(8) The Tshes–bcu Lha–khang. It was moved after Si–tu's visit.
(9) The *rdo–bcal* (inner courtyard). Three rooms mentioned by Si–tu (439–440) are not pictured here: a *mgon–khang* commemorating the defeat of the Lha–sa rdzong–pa in Sngags–'chang Chen–po's time, and upstairs, the Thig–khang Dpe–mdzod (Library) and Bla–ma Lha–khang.

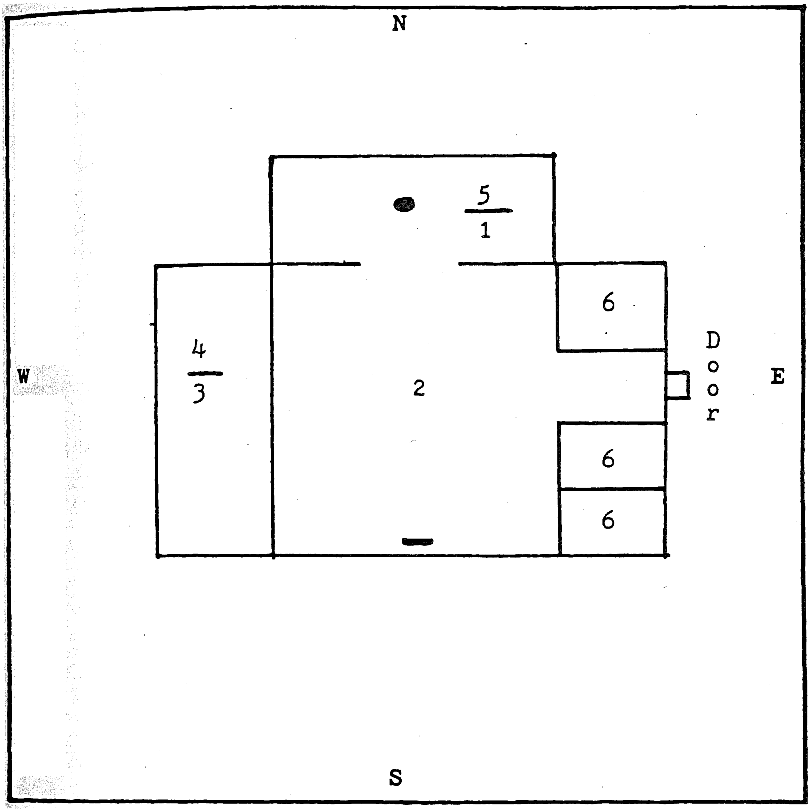
Map 8



Map 9: The Dbu–rtse Rnying–gsar–ma*

(1) Dbu–rtse Rnying–ma: built by Sa–chen Kun–dga'–snying–po. The central dot represents the 'Jam–dbyangs Gzi–'od–'bar–ba, a statue which Sa-skya Paṇḍita made.
(2) Dbu–rtse Gsar–ma: built by Rje–btsun Rin–po–che and Zangs–tsha. The line on the south wall represents the 'Jam–dbyangs Gar–gzigs–ma, a painting Sa–skya Paṇḍita made.
(3) Rnam–thar Sgo–gsum: built by Dpon–chen Shākya–bzang–po at 'Phags-pa's order.
(4) Gzhal–yas Lha–khang: built over the Rnam–thar Sgo–gsum by Theg-chen Chos–rgyal.
(5) Bla–ma Lha–khang: built over the Dbu–rtse Rnying–ma by Rje–btsun Rin–po–che and Zangs–tsha, and over it a *thig–khang* providing protection from the rain. Over that was the gold roof.
(6) Side rooms.

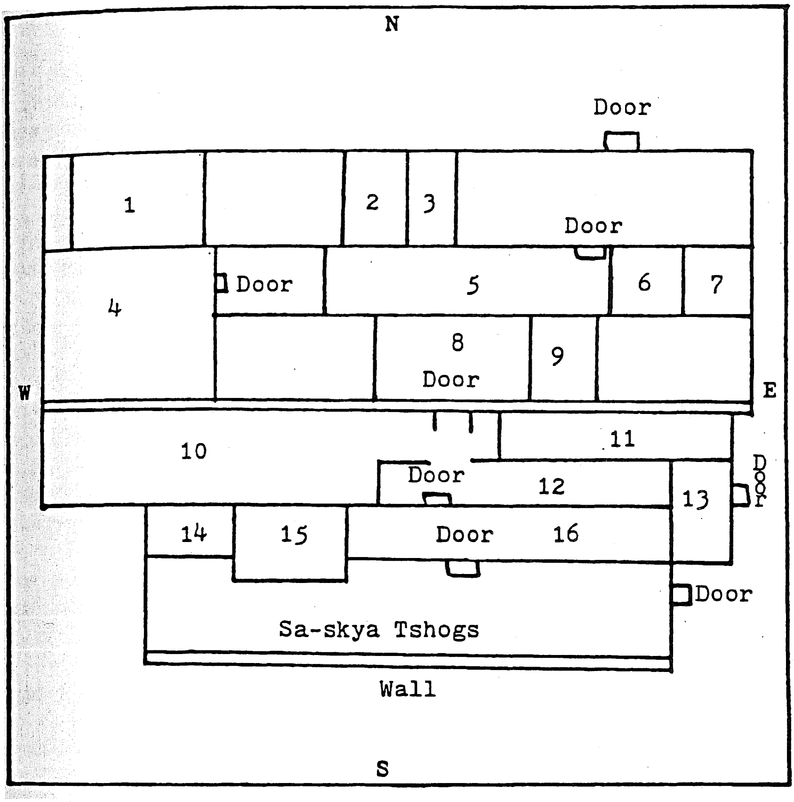
Map 9



Map 10: The Bzhi–thog Pho–brang (Government Building and North Monastery) with Some Neighboring Buildings

The upper half of the map is the Bzhi–thog Pho–brang represented by (1) to (9).
(1) Dngul–gdung–rig–'dzin Lha–khang: on the second floor with nine pillars. The silver *stūpa* (*dngul–gdung*) was moved to the South Monastery sometime after Si–tu's visit (Si–tu: 442; GTW). Underneath this room was the Bdud–'dul Sbug, a very dark *mgon–khang* built by Sngags–'chang Grags–pa–blo–gros (Si–tu: 443).
(2) Gzhi–thog Gzims–chung Dbu–rtse Dbang–khang: also on the second floor and with four pillars (Si–tu: 443), also known as the Bla–ma Lha–khang (GTW).
(3) Beg(–)tse'i Mgon–khang: the Bla–ma Lha–khang's inner room, with four pillars (Si–tu: 443).
(4) Tshom–chen (great assembly hall): with thirty pillars and many thrones for the Sa–skya Gong–ma (Si–tu: 443).
(5) Inner Courtyard (*rdo–bcal*): on the first floor of the north entrance, the third or fourth floor of the south entrance. Built on the side of a mountain, the Bzhi–thog was a split–level building, with seven tall stories in front and five in back (GTW).
(6) Tsho–dmar room (GTW).
(7) Gzim–chung Mkha'–spyod room (GTW).
(8) Rgya–gar Rgya–nag room: with four pillars (Si–tu: 443).
(9) Mgon–khang Lho–na–khyad–pa (Si–tu: 443): called Khyad–lho by GTW.
Some of the Bzhi–thog's neighboring buildings are represented by (10) to (16).
(10) Pu–tra Mgon–khang: with sixteen pillars (Si–tu: 442).
(11) 'Phel–rgyas Bla–brang: three stories tall (GTW).
(12) Byang–gi–rdo–bcal (northern courtyard) (GTW).
(13) 'Cham–khang (dance house): four stories (GTW).
(14) Lay residence.
(15) Chos–khri Chen–mo: with a gold roof and looking out over the Sa–skya Tshogs, the Sa–skya gathering place (GTW).
(16) Another 'Cham–khang (dance house) (GTW).

Map 10



N
Door
1
2
3
Door
4
Door
5
6
7
8
Door
9
W
E
10
11
Door
12
13
Door
14
15
Door
16
Door
Sa-skya Tshogs
Wall
S

APPENDIX II: ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF BUILDINGS

Name[8]	Century[9]	Maps
Dkar-shongs**	(17)	
Dkon-khang Bla-brang**	(17)	
Bkra-shis-brtsegs Nub*	NA	5.30
Bkra-shis-brtsegs Shar*	NA	5.31
Sku-'bum*	(16)	4.7
a.k.a. Rin-bzang Sku-'bum		
Skyid-ston Bla-brang***	(17)	
Skyed-lhas Mgon-khang*	(16)	
v. Kha'u-brag-rdzong		
Khang-gsar Chen-po (or Chen-mo)**	13	
Kha'u-brag-rdzong	(11)	1
c.[10] Skyed-lhas Mgon-khang		
c. 'Du-khang		
Khro-khang		
v. Zan-tshul Bla-brang		
'Khon Sku-'bum*	12	4.11
Grang-mo-che		
v. Bla-brang Grang-mo-che		
Grog-po Nub Gling***	(17)	
Dga'-ldan*	(17)	5.16
c. Bse-khrab Mgon-khang		
Dge-'phel Bla-brang*	(16)	6.35
Mgon-khang Mdo-phug		
v. Sgo-rum Gzim-spyil Dkar-po		
Mgon-khang Nub*	(16)	4.8
Rgyal-chen Shugs-ldan Mgon-khang		
v. Rmug-chung Mgon-khang		
Sgang-dkar		
v. Sgang-ga		
Sgang-ga*	(16)	4.2
a.k.a. Sgang-dkar		
Sgo-pad	13	7.1
Sgo-rum 'Khor-'dzom**	(17)	
Sgo-rum Gzim(s)-spyil Dkar-po*	11	5.19
c. Mgon-khang		
c. Mgon-khang Mdo-phug		
c. Dpe-khang Chen-mo (a.k.a. Dpe-mdzod)		
c. Sa-chen Gzims-chung		

Sgog–ra Bla–brang*	(17)	5.32
Sgrol–ma Pho–brang*	19	2.4
Sgrol–ma Sems–dpa'–gsum–brtsegs		
v. G.yu–mkhar–mo'i Sgrol–ma		
Mngon–dga' Bde–can*	(GTW:17)	4.12
Mngon–dga' Bla–brang***	(17)	
perhaps a.k.a. Mngon–dga'–shag		
Mngon–dga' shag*	13	7.13
Chu–mig Rdzing–kha**	12	
Chos–khri Chen–mo*	(17)	5.27, 10.15
Chos–sde Byang		
v. Bzhi–thog Pho–brang		
v. Gsang–sngags Bde–chen–gling		
Chos–sde Lho		
v. Lha–khang Chen–mo		
'Cham–khang	NA	5.28, 10.13, 10.16
'Jam–dbyangs Gzi–'od–'bar–ba	13	9
'Jigs–byed Lha–khang*	18 or 19	7.12
Rje–btsun		
v. Zur–khang Bla–brang		
Nyi–thog Bla–brang		
v. Thub–dbang Don–yod		
Nyi–lde Nub*	(16)	6.36
Nyi–lde Shar*	(16)	6.36
Nye–tshe–lung**	(17)	
Gnyan Bla–brang**	(13)	
Thabs–shar		
v. Gzim–khang Rnying–ma		
Thub–bstan Lha–khang Chen–mo		
v. Lha–khang Chen–mo		
Thub–dbang Mthong–ba–don–yod		
v. Thub–dbang Don–yod		
Thub–dbang Don–yod*	(13)	5.15
a.k.a. Nyi–thog Bla–brang		
a.k.a. Thub–dbang Mthong–ba–don–yod		
Theg–chen Chos–rgyal Phyi–rten		
v. Byang–chub Mchod–rten		
Mthong–smon Bla–brang***	(17)	7.17
a.k.a. Lha–chen Phun–tshogs–gling		
v. Rtse–chen Lha–khang		
Dan–gyi–lcags–ri**	13	
Dus–mchod Bla–brang	13	5.33
c. Tsi'u–dmar–po Mgon–khang, Gnod–sbyin		

Gdung–rabs Lha–khang*	NA	4.1
Bde–skyid Bla–brang	19	2.6
Bde–chen–gling		
v. Gsang–sngags Bde–chen–gling		
Bde–mchog Pho–brang (or Mgon–khang)	(18)	4
Bde–ldan**	(17)	
Bde–ba–can***	(17)	
'Du–khang*	NA	4.6
'Du–khang* (Kha'u–brag–rdzong)	(16)	
Rdo–rje–phur–pa'i Mchod–rten Bzhi		
v. Sa–skya Mi–'gyur–ba'i Gzer bzhi		
Ldan–khang		
v. Shar–gling Chen–po		
Nags–rtse Bla–brang	19 or 20	2.(4)
Nang–so Pu–tra Khang		
v. Pu–tra Mgon–khang		
Gnod–sbyin Tsi'u–dmar–po Mgon–khang		
v. Tsi'u–dmar–po Mgon–khang, Gnod–sbyin		
Rnam–rgyal Sku–'bum	12	4.10
a.k.a. Rnam–rgyal Mchod–rten		
Rnam–rgyal Mchod–rten		
v. Rnam–rgyal Sku–'bum		
Rnam–rgyal Lha–khang*	12	
Rnam–thar Sgo–gsum*	13	9.3
Pu–tra Mgon–khang*	(16)	10.10
a.k.a. Nang–so Pu–tra Khang		
Dpe–khang Chen–mo		
v. Sgo–rum Gzim(s)–spyil–dkar–po		
Sprul–pa'i Lha–khang Chen–mo		
v. Lha–khang Chen–mo		
Phun–tshogs Pho–brang*	19	2.5
Phyi–rten	12 to 16	6.(15)
'Phel–rgyas	NA	5.29, 10.11
Beg(–)tse Mgon–khang		
v. Bzhi–thog Pho–brang		
Byang–chub Mchod–rten*	14 or 15	4.9
a.k.a. Theg–chen Chos–rgyal Phyi–rten		
Bla–brang Gung–rnams**	(13)	
Bla–brang Grang–mo–che	(17)	6.41
Bla–brang Rin–chen–sgang*	13	2.7
a.k.a. Rin–chen–sgang Bla–brang		
Bla–brang Shar*	(13)	5.23
a.k.a. Gzims–khang Rnying–ma		

Bla-ma Lha-khang*	13	9.5
Dbu-rtse Sgo-rum Gser-thog Che-mo**		
Dbu-rtse Rnying-ma*	12	5.20, 9.1
Dbu-rtse Gsar-rnying*	13	5.20, 9.2
'Bum Chen-po		
v. G.yu-thog Chen-po		
'Bum-thang Chen-po*	(16)	5.18
Rmug-chung Mgon-khang*	(GTW:17)	5.21
a.k.a. Shugs-ldan Mgon-khang		
Sman-grong Chen-mo***	(17)	
Tsi'u-dmar-po Mgon-khang, Gnod-sbyin		
v. Dus-mchod Bla-brang		
Rtse-chen Lha-khang	(17) and 20	7.17
c. Lha-chen Phun-tshogs-gling		
v. Mthong-smon Bla-brang		
c. Lhun-sgrub Pho-brang		
Tshogs-khang Bla-brang***	(17)	
Rdzong-chung Bla-brang*	(16)	6.40
Zhwa-lu Khang-gsar**	(14)	
Zhabs-brtan Lha-khang	(17)	6.37
perhaps a.k.a. Sa-dkar Bla-brang		
Zhal-dro Lha-khang*	(GTW:16)	5.34
Zhi-dgon Bla-brang**	(17)	
Gzhal-yas Lha-khang*	14 or 15	9.4
Gzhi-thog Pho-brang		
v. Bzhi-thog Pho-brang		
Gzhon-dbang-rnams		
v. Shong-nga		
Bzhi-thog Pho-brang* (or Bla-brang)	(13)	5.24, 10
a.k.a. Chos-sde Byang		
a.k.a. Gzhi-thog Pho-brang		
c. Beg(-)tse Mgon-khang		
Zan-tshul Bla-brang	(17)	5.26
a.k.a. Khro-khang		
Zi-thang Bla-brang[11]	(17)	2.1
Zil-gnon**	(17)	
Zur-khang Bla-brang*	12 or 13	4.13
a.k.a. Rje-btsun		
Gzim-khang Rnying-ma*	(13)	5.22
a.k.a. Bla-brang Shar		
a.k.a. Thabs-shar		
'Og-min***	(17)	
Yang-dgon Bla-brang**	(13)	

G.yu–mkhar–mo Gtsug–lag–khang (adjacent Sgrol–ma Pho–brang)	12	2.4
G.yu–mkhar–mo'i Sgrol–ma*	12	
a.k.a. Sgrol–ma Sems–dpa'–gsum–brtsegs, Rje–btsun		
G.yu–thog Chen–mo*	13	5.17
a.k.a. 'Bum Chen–po		
Rin–chen–sgang Bla–brang		
v. Bla–brang Rin–chen–sgang		
Rin–bzang Sku–'bum		
v. Sku–'bum		
Lo–spe Bla–brang[12]	(17)	2.3
Shāk–bzang Nub*	13	4.4
Shāk–bzang Shar*	13	4.5
Shar–gling Chen–po	(17)	6.38
a.k.a. Ldan–khang		
Shar–gling Bla–brang	(17)	6.39
Shing–dkar Bla–brang**	(17)	
Shugs–ldan Mgon–khang, Rgyal–chen		
v. Rmug–chung Mgon–khang		
Shong–nga*	(GTW:14)	4.3
a.k.a. Gzhon–dbang–rnams		
Sa–dkar Bla–brang**	(17)	
perhaps a.k.a. Zhabs–brtan Lha–khang		
Sa–skya Mi–'gyur–ba'i Gzer bzhi*	8	2.X1–X4
a.k.a. Rdo–rje–phur–pa'i Mchod–rten bzhi		
Sa–nag Bla–brang***	(17)	
Sengge–sgang**	(17)	
Gsang–sngags Bde–chen–gling*	16	4.14, 5.14
a.k.a. Chos–sde Byang		
a.k.a. Bde–chen–gling		
Gsal–la Bla–brang**	12 or 13	
Bsam–gling*[13]	(16)	1
Bse–khrab Mgon–khang		
v. Dga'–ldan		
Bse–'bag Nag–po 'Phur–shes	(11)	
Lha–khang Bla–brang		
v. Lha–chen Bla–brang		
Lha–khang Chen–mo	13	2.2, 7, 8
a.k.a. Chos–sde Lho		
a.k.a. Thub–bstan Lha–khang Chen–mo		
a.k.a. Sprul–pa'i Lha–khang Chen–mo		

Lha–chen Phun–tshogs–gling		
v. Mthong–smon Bla–brang		
v. Rtse–chen Lha–khang		
Lha–chen Bla–brang*	13	7.14
a.k.a. Lha–khang Bla–brang		
Lhun–sgrub Pho–brang		
v. Rtse–chen Lha–khang		
A–ci Mchod–rten*	12	
a.k.a. A–phyi 'Bum		
A–phyi 'Bum		
v. A–ci Mchod–rten		

Buildings With Gold Roofs

Chos–khri Chen–mo*	16	5.27, 10.15
Dbu–rtse Gser–thog Chen–mo*	13	5.20, 9.2
'Bum–thang Chen–po*	16	5.18
Zhal–dro Lha–khang*	(GTW:16)	5.34

Sa–skya's Mgon–khangs

Mgon–khang Mdo–phug		
v. Sgo–rum Gzim–spyil Dkar–po		
Mgon–khang Nub*	(16)	4.8
Bde–mchog Pho–brang (or Mgon–khang)	(18)	4
Pu–tra Mgon–khang*	(16)	10.10
a.k.a. Nang–so Pu–tra Khang		
Beg(–)tse Mgon–khang		
v. Bzhi–thog Pho–brang		
Rmug–chung Mgon–khang*	(GTW:17)	5.21
a.k.a. Shugs–ldan Mgon–khang		
Tsi'u–dmar–po Mgon–khang, Gnod–sbyin		
v. Dus–mchod Bla–brang		
Shugs–ldan Mgon–khang, Rgyal–chen		
v. Rmug–chung Mgon–khang		
Bse–khrab Mgon–khang		
v. Dga'–ldan		

APPENDIX III: SKC'S LISTS OF RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES (f. 5a ff.)

"The Four Wondrous Worship Objects [of Sa–skya]" (*ngo-mtshar-ba'i rten bzhi*) are:
1. the 'Jam–dbyangs Gzi–'od–'bar–ba, made by Sa–skya Paṇḍita [and kept in the Dbu–rtse Rnying–ma]
2. the Rnam–rgyal Sku–'bum, which contains Sangs–rgyas 'Od–srung's (Buddha Kāśyapa's) relics and physical likeness
3. the G.yu–mkhar–mo's Sgrol–ma*, the statue of Ba–ri Lo–tsā–ba's meditational deity into which Rje–btsun–ma Sgrol–ma (Tārā) actually dissolved
4. [in the Sgo–rum], the Bse–'bag Nag–po 'Phur–shes, [the mask image of Mahākāla made from the skin of a king who opposed the Dharma], into which Ye–shes–kyi Mgon–po (Mahākāla) actually dissolved. Its whereabouts is currently not known (GTW).

"The Four Great Residences" (*bla-brang che bzhi*) are:
1. the Sgo–rum Gzim–spyil Dkar–po*, in the center of splendid Sa–skya's upper religious establishment, [i.e., on the S side of Mt. Dpon–po Ri and N of the Grum–chu River]
2. the Bzhi–thog Pho–brang*, directly S of the Sgo–rum
3. the Bla–brang Rin–chen–sgang*, E of the Sgo–rum and on the upper religious establishment
4. the Lha–khang Chen–mo, on the S side of the Grum–chu River.

"The Fourteen Lesser Residences" (*bla-brang chung bcu-bzhi*) are:

A. "The Two Ancients" (*rnying gnyis*)
1. the Dbu–rtse Rnying–ma*, S of the Sgo–rum
2. the Gzim–khang Rnying–ma*, E of that

B. "The Four Close to the Bzhi–thog Bla–brang" (*bzhi-thog bla-brang la nye-ba bzhi*)
3. the Dkon–khang Bla–brang**, E of the Bzhi–thog
4. the Dus–mchod Bla–brang, SE of that
5. the Khang–gsar Chen–po*, where the two above meet
6. the Zan–tshul Bla–brang, S of Chos–khri–thang[14]

C. "The Three Close to the Rin–chen–sgang" (*rin-chen-sgang la nye-ba gsum*)
7. the Shing–khar Bla–brang**, S of Rin–chen–sgang
8. the Sengge–sgang**, SW of that
9. the Zhwa–lu Khang–(f. 5b) gsar**, built by a Zhwa–lu Dpon–chen on a rock SE of Rin–chen–sgang

D. "The Two Close to the Great Temple" (*lha-che-la nye-ba gnyis*)

10. the Lha-chen Bla-brang*, S of Lha-khang Chen-mo

11. the Mthong-smon Bla-brang***, NE of Lha-khang Chen-mo[15]

E. "The Three Not Close to Any of the Four Great [Residences]" (*che bzhi-po gang-la-yang mi-nye-ba gsum*)
12. the Zi-thang Bla-brang, SW of the Great See[16]
13. the Chu-mig Rdzing-kha**, in the Upper W [of the upper religious establishment]
14. the Shar-gling Chen-po, nowadays known as the Ldan-khang, in the center of the eastern area.

"The Thirteen Residences where the *Brgya-dpon*[17] Dwell" (*brgya-dpon bzhugs-pa'i bla-brang...bcu-gsum*) are:
1. the Bla-brang Grang-mo-che, in the area S [actually SE] of the Great See
2. the Gsal-la Bla-brang**, in the vicinity of the Sengge-sgang
3. the Nye-tshe-lung**, NW of the Grang-mo-che
4. the Nyi-lde Nub*, NW of that
5. the Gnyan Bla-brang**, E of that
6. the Mngon-dga' Bla-brang***, SE of the Lha-chen[18]
7. the Bde-ba-can***, W of that
8. the Nyi-thog Bla-brang*,[19] W of the Sgo-rum
9. the Zur-khang Bla-brang*,[20] NW of that
10. the Skyid-ston Bla-brang***, in the middle of the "western ravine area" (*grog-po nub-gling*, unidentified by GTW)
11. the Yang-dgon Bla-brang**, E of the
12. the Zhi-dgon Bla-brang**, NE of that
13. the Bla-brang Gung-rnams**, N of the Sgo-rum and 'Og-min***.

"The Thirteen Residences of the *Brgya-'dra*"[21] (*brgya-'dra'i bla-brang...bcu-gsum*) are:
1. the Sgo-rum 'Khor-'dzom**, W of the [Sgo-rum] Gzim-spyil Dkar-po
2. the Zil-gnon**, W of the Rnam-rgyal Sku-'bum
3. the Dkar-shongs**, at the foot of the Chos-khri-thang
4. the Dga'-ldan*, SW of the G.yu-thog Chen-mo
5. the Bde-ldan**, W of the Rnam-rgyal Sku-(f. 6a) 'bum in the area of the Tshogs-khang Bla-brang**
6. the Sa-dkar Bla-brang**, E of the two Bla-brang Nyi-lde [Shar and Nub][22]
7. the Sa-nag Bla-brang***, N of the Sman-grong Chen-mo***
8. the Lo-spe Bla-brang, S of the Sman-grong [Chen-mo]
9. the Sgog-ra Bla-brang*, N of the Dkon-khang
10. the Dge-'phel Bla-brang*, SW of the Nyi-lde Bla-brang[23]

11. the Nyi–lde Shar* has joined with the Nyi–lde Nub*
12. the Rdzong–chung Bla–brang*, on the W bank of the Mon–'grog [Ravine], the dwelling place of Mon–pa children who are the Pu–tra Lcam–sring–rnams emanated as precious cowherders[24]
13. the Shar–gling Bla–brang, N of that.[25]

NOTES

1 I began this article with the encouragement of Profs. Turrell V. Wylie and D. Seyfort Ruegg. While I was preparing this study as a chapter for my master's thesis, Dr. Wylie helped me by giving me copies of his own hand-drawn maps of Sa-skya and, as my advisor, by giving me much needed help and direction. Thus, Prof. Wylie should share in the credit for the production of this work. Furthermore, I think he was quite pleased to see his work in Tibetan geography continued in this way.

2 For more information on Sa-skya and its domains, see Cassinelli and Ekvall 1969.

3 For a fuller discussion of the officials of the North and South Monasteries, such as the Bla-ma Ben-tshang-pa, and of the other monasteries in Sa-skya, see Cassinelli and Ekvall 1969: 394–414.

4 In the first volume of *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (1980: 156), Tucci describes a 92-folio manuscript with the same title and by a Kun-dga'-rin-chen whom Tucci identifies as Sngags-'chang chen-po Kun-dga'-rin-chen (1517–1584). The author of SKC describes himself as "shākya'i dge-slong Kun-dga'-rin-chen," and since Sngags-'chang was not a monk and SKC has many references to the repairs made by Sngags-'chang's son, Sngags-'chang Grags-pa-blo-gros (1563–1617) — presumably made after his father had passed away — then the author of the SKC could hardly be Sngags-'chang chen-po Kun-dga'-rin-chen. Without examining the Tucci manuscript, it is difficult to know whether it is the same text as the SKC.

5 One asterisk (*) after the name of a building signifies the building was razed in the 1960s; two asterisks (**), that the building did not survive into the twentieth century; three asterisks (***), that the building's name was not recognized by GTW. No asterisks signifies that the building still exists.

6 A fourteenth-century work (Yar-lung Jo-bo 1987: 152) says, *de lta bu'i bla ma des* [Sa-skya Paṇḍita] *bzhi thog gzims khang btab.* That is, Sa-skya Paṇḍita founded the Gzhi-thog Gzims-khang, which may be the Bzhi-thog Pho-brang, as it came to be known.

7 Although not razed in the 1960s, the Mgon-khang suffers from a lack of repairs (GTW). Varying from DRCM's statement, HBS: 182 erroneously attributes the construction of the temple to Dbang-sdud-snying-po in the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

8 See Note 5.

9 The date assigned to the buildings represent either the buildings' construction date or, if the date is in parentheses, the earliest date in which the buildings' existence is confirmed by one of the sources used in this paper. It is most probable, with the exceptions of the Gsang-sngags Bde-chen-gling and the Bde-mchog Pho-brang, that the buildings assigned to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were actually built in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when Sa-skya was rapidly growing under the auspices of the Five Sa-skya Patriarchs.

10 The "c" indicates that the following building or part of a building was contained within a main building.

11 Before the twentieth century, the Zi–thang Bla–brang became a lay residence. Whether the old *bla–brang* is still in existence is not known.

12 As in the case of the Zi–thang Bla–brang, the building became a lay residence before the twentieth century and it is not known whether the old *bla–brang* still exists.

13 Dmag–zor–rgyal–mo's temple in Bsam–gling, not Bsam–gling itself, was destroyed (GTW).

14 The Chos–khri–thang was later known as the "Sa–skya Tshogs," which is represented in Map 10 (GTW).

15 The Mthong–smon Bla–brang is perhaps known nowadays as the Lha–chen Phun–tshogs–gling (GTW).

16 Here, "Great See" (Gdan–sa chen–po) appears to refer to the central complex of buildings on Mt Dpon–po Ri, i.e., the Sgo–rum, Dbu–rtse and Bzhi–thog.

17 GTW did not know the meaning of *brgya–dpon* here.

18 In a note in SKC, this building is said to be W of the Lha–(khang) Chen–(mo): *mngon dga' lha chen gyi nub na yod zhes pa'ang snang.* GTW suggests this building was used to house monks and was called Mngon–dga' Shag.

19 This building either did not survive until the twentieth century or has been replaced by the Thub–dbang Don–yod, W of the Sgo–rum (GTW).

20 Later this building was called "Rje–btsun" after a statue of Rje–btsun Rin–po–che Grag–pa–rgyal–mtshan (1145–1216) made by his student Dkar Shākya–grags. This statue was later taken to the Sgrol–ma Pho–brang (GTW).

21 GTW did not know the meaning of *brgya–'dra* here.

22 The Sa–dkar Bla–brang may have been known as the Zhabs–brtan Bla–brang (GTW).

23 The Dge–'phel Bla–brang was the residence of the Dge–'phel Dpon–slob, one of the two head teachers at Gsang–sngags Bde–chen–gling (Cassinelli and Ekvall 1969: 399), and also identified as the abbot of Phu–gsum Chos–sde Monastery (GTW).

24 SKC: f. 6a. *rdzong chung bla brang ni pu tra lcam sring rnams 'phags pa rin po che'i phyugs rdzir sprul pa'i mon pa phru gu rnams kyi 'dug gnas mon grog zhes bya ba'i nub 'gram na yod.*

25 Of the forty–four buildings listed (excluding "The Four Wondrous Worship Objects" at Sa–skya), fifteen were razed in the 1960s, sixteen did not survive until the twentieth century, five were not recognizable to GTW, and eight remain in existence. Yet of these eight, only the Lha–khang Chen–mo is used for religious purposes. The following seven buildings are mentioned in SKC but not counted in the lists: (Gsang–sngags) Bde–chen (–gling), Bla–brang*, 'Og–min***, G.yu–thog Chen–mo*, Tshogs–khang Bla–brang**, Sman–grong Chen–mo***, and Nyi–lde Nub*.

THE MGAR FAMILY IN SEVENTH CENTURY TIBET

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One of the great folk heroes of Tibetan history is Blon–po Mgar whose resourcefulness in securing a Chinese princess as bride for his master Srong–brtsan–sgam–po is recounted at length in later histories and is represented in the favorite Ache Lhamo drama *Rgya bza' bal bza'* which enacts the curious tests he had to solve before he could win the princess whom he then escorted to Tibet with the image of the Jo–bo Rin–po–che, for centuries the most venerated object in the Gtsug–lag–khang of Lhasa. There is also a popular story that Mgar took so long on the journey from China with the princess that he had a child by her on the way.

It may seem churlish to point out that such stories are the stuff of legend in other countries too. In an exhibition of Japanese treasures at the time of the 1964 Olympic Games there was a thirteenth century painted scroll showing a Japanese envoy to the T'ang court successfully overcoming similar tests of his astuteness; and Edward Schafer in his *Vermilion Bird* has an eighth century story from South China about a minister who conducted a princess as bride to a neighbouring kinglet taking a year on the journey and fathering a child on the way.

The real story may be less romantic; but Mgar Stong–rtsan–yul–zung did conduct successful negotiations for a Chinese princess in 638 A.D. and he did conduct the lady, Princess Wen Ch'eng — Mun–chang Kong–co — to Tibet in 641. There is even a contemporary Chinese painting by the famous artist Yen Li–pen showing Mgar being received in audience by the Emperor T'ai–tsung. Chinese pride and protocol of course showed the "barbarian" envoy as a rather insignificant figure but their records, which barely conceal that the princess had to be granted under threat of a Tibetan invasion, recognize Mgar Stong–rtsan as a statesman of outstanding energy and ability. He made so strong an impression on the Emperor that he was offered a noble Chinese lady as bride for himself and, in spite of protesting that he was already married and so could not accept a bride before his ruler, he was overpersuaded. That may lie at the root of the story that he had a child by the princess on their journey to Tibet.

In contrast with the high opinion expressed by the Chinese, the earliest Tibetan records appear to treat the career and achievements of Mgar Stong–rtsan–yul–zung with comparative coolness. He became Chief Minister some time before the death of Srong–brtsan–sgam–po, having succeeded the flamboyant figure of Khyung–po Spung–sad–zu–tse in whose downfall he played a considerable part but the question just when that happened and whether

he was Chief Minister already in 638 cannot be examined here. Whereas in the Tibetan *Chronicle* from Tun-huang the skill and wisdom of Khyung-po Spung-sad-zu-tse and all ministers before him are highly praised, the only sort of encomium of Mgar Stong-rtsan-yul-zung is in an exchange of songs in which he pledged his loyalty to Srong-brtsan-sgam-po. He is described there, briefly, as a wise minister.

It is, nevertheless, clear from Chinese records and from the bare statement of facts in the Tun-huang *Annals* that he was a personage of the highest ability, energy and accomplishment and that by a skilful blend of diplomacy and military strength he succeeded, without creating an open breach with China, in laying the foundations of a great Tibetan empire and in establishing the dominance of his family in which he was followed after his death by two powerful sons.

On the death of the *btsan-po* Srong-brtsan-sgam-po in 649, Mgar Stong-rtsan apparently resigned or was dismissed from the post of Chief Minister. The alleged reason was that he was old — which in Tibetan terms might mean sixty years of age; but perhaps such a step was expected on the death of a ruler, or — as appears later — the predominance of one family was resented by ministers of the old-established clans and even by the common folk. But it was not long before he regained the post in conditions which gave him almost unfettered authority. The new *btsan-po* was an infant whose mother was probably a lady from the Tu-yu-hun ('A-zha) people against whom the Tibetans had conducted and were to continue to conduct destructive campaigns. There was, therefore, no competition from the maternal kinsmen who were the traditional protectors of a young king. Stong-rtsan-yul-zung continued as Chief Minister until his death in 667 from extreme old age. His years in office had, nevertheless, shown no sign of weakening powers but were a period of extensive and successful military activity on the borders of the country and of much administrative organisation in Tibet itself and in territories recently conquered in the reign of Srong-brtsan-sgam-po. Men were called up (*bkug*) presumably for service either as soldiery (*rgod*) or in civilian tasks (*g.yung*); operations described as *mkho* (*mkhos*), *rtsis mgo*, and *phying-ril* relating to the establishment of governmental institutions and the assessment of revenue have been discussed by Géza Uray, V.A.Bogoslovskij and Luciano Petech. But the most interesting of Stong-rtsan-yul-zung's measures was the writing of a code of law — *bka'-grims-gyi yi-ge* — in 655. Later tradition ascribes such a code to Srong-brtsan-sgam-po as the founder of law in Tibet and there is early authority for that tradition in the Tun-huang *Chronicle* where, in a eulogy of the king, it is said that he established a great code of law — *bka'-grims ched-po*. It may be that the principles were agreed upon during his reign but were not formally inscribed until 655, after his death. Probably, at that time no more than the penalties for basic crimes — murder, rape, theft and falsehood — were laid down, further clauses and

provisions about procedure, etc., being added later. The terse entries in the Tun-huang *Annals*, while recording those domestic activities, are almost entirely silent about Stong-rtsan-yul-zung's vigorous expansionist policy; and one must turn to Chinese histories for information. His principal target was the Tu-yu-hun ('A-zha) kingdom. An attack in 634 had driven out one section of the people, who took refuge near Kokonor. They and the heart of the kingdom around the sources of the Yellow River continued to be harassed by the Tibetans who also reduced to subjection some tribes of the Ch'iang, which had hitherto escaped their attention, including the Pailan who were formerly the vassals of the Tu-yu-hun. The Tu-yu-hun appealed to China for help but that only brought on them a punitive expedition by the Tibetans followed by a series of demands for a settlement, complaints, and protests to the Chinese who remained studiously aloof. Eventually the Tibetans, taking advantage of treachery by a defecting Tu-yu-hun minister, launched an attack which drove the ruler, whose queen was a Chinese princess, and many of his followers to flee to China. The Emperor, greatly concerned at the fate of his former vassals, continued nevertheless — perhaps in hope rather than from conviction — to regard Stong-rtsan-yul-zung as a loyal friend; but he took the precaution of sending troops to protect the Tu-yu-hun from further attacks, and he issued a strong rebuke to the Tibetans for their aggression.

Stong-rtsan-yul-zung, undeterred, continued to press for a settlement on his terms and asked for a large stretch of territory near the upper reaches of the Yellow River as grazing ground for his horses. This was indignantly refused; but domination over Tu-yu-hun territory in that region, already secured by the Tibetans, gave easy access to the trade routes north and south of the Tarim Basin. The effects began to be felt when Tibetan armies showed they could make trouble not only near the Chinese border but also in the far west of Central Asia where Chinese control of the merchant cities through their mastery of the Four Garrisons — Kashgar, Khotan, Kucha and Karashahr — had safeguarded their trade with the west. The Tibetans had been probing there for some time, taking advantage of internal rivalries among the Turkic tribes to gain useful allies. In 663 and 665, they joined in attacks on Kashgar and Khotan but avoided battle with Chinese forces which came to the rescue. Nevertheless, an open breach was clearly not far off; but before it occurred Stong-rtsan-yul-zung died in 667 having to the end of his days succeeded in avoiding war with his great neighbor with whom he had enjoyed a love-hate relationship for nearly thirty years. He appears to have been active to the last, hunting in 656 and spending most of his time in the 'A-zha country. Assuming that he was born around the end of the sixth century he would have been over seventy-five at the time of his death.

As Chief Minister Stong-rtsan-yul-zung had been supported by his able sons, Bstan-snya, Khri-'bring, Stag-ru and Gung-rton. On his death there

was a challenge to the position of the Mgar family when the lesser ministers and the ordinary people proposed as his successor Dba's Sum–snang, a son of the famous minister Dba's Dbyi–tshab who was one of those responsible for establishing Srong–brtsan–sgam–po's father as ruler of a powerful Tibetan kingdom. This suggests that, for all their energy and ability, the Mgar, who were comparatively latecomers on the Tibetan scene and had stood aloof while Dba's and his colleagues were fighting for the *btsan–po*, were not wholly popular with the old–established Central Tibetan families and the common people. But the influence of the Mgar prevailed with the young king, then about fifteen years old, and after secret discussions Mgar Btsan–snya–ldom–bu was appointed Chief Minister with Dba's Sum–snang as his assistant. Later when Sum–snang died, Mgar Btsan–snya held the office on his own. It appears that the arrangement took some time to settle down. For five years after the death of Stong–rtsan–yul–zung no one is named even as minister in the Tun–huang *Annals*. Then in 673 it is recorded that Mgar Btsan–snya–ldom–bu and Khri–'bring–btsan–brod convened the council; but they are not described by any title, not even *blon*, "minister." In 675, Btsan–snya is referred to as *blon* but it is not until 680 that he is entitled *blon–che*, Chief Minister. Perhaps there is no great significance in these notices, but they may suggest that there were obstacles to the assumption of the title by Btsan–snya until after the death of Dba's Sum–snang — who, incidentally, is nowhere named in the *Annals*.

Even if there was some internal tension, the policy of military expansion, in which the Mgar family continued to take the lead, was carried on with increased vigour. Stong–rtsan–yul–zung's sons probably did not feel that special regard for the T'ang Dynasty which their father had acquired — together with a Chinese wife — in the great days of Srong–brtsan–sgam–po and T'ang T'ai–tsung. Although his action against the Tu–yu–hun had embittered relations, there had been no armed conflict with China during Stong–rtsan–yul–zung's regime but after his death there was a rapid deterioration. The Tibetans continued with their absorption of the unattached Ch'iang tribes on the Chinese border but it was in the west that they struck the most damaging blow to Chinese pride — and trade — by capturing the famous Four Garrisons. This stirred the Emperor to action and in 670 he appointed a "Commander–in–chief of the Lhasa region and Lhasa army" to chastise the Tibetans and restore the Tu–yu–hun to their former territories in which they had protected the approaches to the western trade routes. That reference to a Lhasa army is the origin of a quite unsubstantiated legend that the Chinese took the opportunity of the death of Stong–rtsan–yul–zung to invade Tibet and capture Lhasa. The story presumably originates from a distortion of the T'ang *Annals* of which the Tibetans had translations made at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In fact the "Lhasa army" got no further than Tafeichuan, about 125 miles south of Hsining, where it was an-

nihilated by the Tibetans under Mgar Khri–'bring. Nothing could now save the remnants of the Tu–yu–hun. Their territory was completely occupied by the Tibetans who went on, year after year, to ravage the Chinese borderland from Liang–chou to Kua–chou and to inflict severe defeats, relieved by occasional reverses, upon the forces sent to repel them.

The death of the Btsan–po Mang–slon–mang–tshan in 676 had little immediate effect on the authority of the Mgar. Although his place of residence had been recorded each year he does not appear to have had any influence on the conduct of affairs. There is no eulogy of him in the Tun–huang *Chronicle* and later histories have nothing to say of him. The only contemporary comment is in the T'ang *Annals* where a Tibetan envoy to the Chinese court in 670 answered an enquiry about the *btsan–po* by saying, rather patronisingly, that he was a diligent ruler but could not compare with his grandfather, Srong–brtsan–sgam–po. The succession of his infant son, 'Dus–srong, left power in the hands of the ministers. It is treated as automatic in the Tibetan *Annals* but Chinese records suggest that there was some difficulty. According to Dr. Chang Kun, T'ung Chien relates that a paternal uncle (*khu–snya* ?) supported 'Dus–srong, while a younger brother aged six who was under the care of Khri–'bring was favoured by the people for fear of Khri–'bring, but that he accepted the claim of 'Dus–srong. Since the Tibetan *Annals* show that 'Dus–srong was posthumously born he cannot have had a younger brother aged six; and there is no record of any brother of Mang–slon, who also succeeded as an infant, to act as "paternal uncle" (*khu*). Although the story appears to be garbled and raises other problems which need not be examined here, there may well have been another claimant put forward and a dispute involving the Mgar brothers. It may be significant that it was not until 685, when Mgar Khri–'bring became Chief Minister on the death of Btsan–snya–ldom–bu, that 'Dus–srong, who was by then eight years old, was formally named as *btsan–po*. Whatever may have happened inside Tibet brought no relief to the Chinese. Tibetan aggression continued and the T'ang Annals record that the Tibetan kingdom extended so widely in all directions that since the days of the Han and Wei there was no nation in the west so powerful.

The death of Btsan–snya–ldom–bu in 685 is described as follows in the Tibetan *Annals*:

> *Blon chen po Btsan snya dang Mang nyen stag tsab gnyis/ dme'byung/ shangs gyi sum chu bor/ blon chen po Btsan snya gum/*
>
> The Chief Minister Btsan–snya and Mang–nyen–stag–tsab were affected by *dme'*. The Chief Minister died at Sum–chu–bo of Shangs.

One meaning of *dme* is "defilement, pollution" and Btsan–snya, who had been active in a region, apparently Shangs, where there was a serious outbreak of cattle disease, might have been infected by something like anthrax. On the other hand, *dme* can mean "murder," with the suggestion in Dagyab's dictionary of "murder by one's own kinsmen." Only one of those suffering *dme'* is specifically stated to have died but a hint of foul play may lie in the last sentence of the entry for the year 685 to the effect that the Snom–bu–pa seized many poisoners and executed them.

At all events, on the death of Btsan–snya, Mgar Khri–'bring–btsan–brod was immediately appointed Chief Minister. He seems to have been more forceful than his brother and ever since the death of Stong–rtsan–yul–zung the Chinese had regarded him rather than Btsan–snya as the principal minister. At home, more measures of administrative reorganisation were carried out; and abroad, military activity went on as before. But a few chinks in the armour of the Mgar dynasty began to appear. The first was the recovery by the Chinese in 694 of the important Four Garrisons as a result of which Mgar Gung–rton was disgraced and executed. Another member of the clan was captured by the Sogdians, probably near their settlement at Lop Nor.

Against these reverses Mgar Khri–'bring could set a resounding victory over the famous general Wang Hsiao–chieh who had earlier recaptured the Four Garrisons from the Tibetans. The battle took place at Su–lo han–shan which from the Chinese name might appear to be in the Kashgar region but which the Tibetans, who call the site of the battle Stag–la rgya–dur, the "graveyard of the Chinese at Tiger Pass," describe as being in 'A–zha country. The Tun–huang *Chronicle* celebrates the victory in a lively account of a supposed repartee before the battle between Khri–'bring and the Chinese general in which the latter derided the Tibetans' hope of success with so small an army; and Khri–'bring retorted with apothegms instancing the strength of small things against great. Gnomic verses of the same period are found with the title *Sum–pa ma–shags chen–po* in F. W. Thomas, *Ancient Historical Literature from North Eastern Tibet* and in Pelliot Tibétain no. 992. The tradition survived in a contest in which people of neighbouring villages might meet at their common boundary and exchange wise maxims or jesting verses in challenge and response, known as *shags 'gyed–pa*; similar exchanges might serve as entertainment at a party.

Soon after his victory Khri–'bring sent a mission to the T'ang court proposing a treaty of peace; but his terms, which included the abandonment by the Chinese of the Four Garrisons, were too stiff for them. Moreover, they seem to have suspected that there was a new mood and a general readiness for peace among the Tibetan people. So they temporized and with typical statecraft sought to undermine Khri–'bring's position by spreading the suggestion that he was the main obstacle to a settlement. It is highly probable that the Chinese had some regular contact with the Tibetan court. The

princess Wen Ch'eng who died in 680 must have been acquainted with and may well have influenced 'Dus–srong's mother, Queen Khri–ma–lod of 'Bro, a lady of the Yang–tung people, who, as later events were to show, had close rapport with the Chinese. Although she may have had to lie low during the ascendancy of the Mgar, her son 'Dus–srong, who was to prove a vigorous ruler, had by now come of age. Khri–ma–lod herself was soon to figure in both Tibetan and Chinese records as an active and influential personage in affairs of state, and her clan, the 'Bro, were to play a leading part in Tibetan politics until the end of the kingdom.

There must have been a hint of something in the wind when in the winter of 696 the queen called up a large number of men. In 698, the blow fell. When summer came, 'Dus–srong announced that he was going on a hunting expedition and set out for the north with a large band of warriors. Khri–'bring in the meantime was conducting a campaign in Tsong–ka near the Kokonor. 'Dus–srong managed to seize over two thousand of Khri–'bring's kinsmen and followers and put them to death. He then summoned Khri–'bring and his brother Btsan–po to his presence. Khri–'bring refused and prepared to fight but when 'Dus–srong led an army against him his troops deserted. Perhaps the ground had been prepared by intrigue; or perhaps, when Srong–brtsan–sgam–po's great grandson was seen to display something of the ancestral spirit, Mgar's soldiery were moved by ingrained feelings of awe and reverence for the sacred person of Spu–rgyal–btsan–po. Khri–'bring and many of his kinsmen committed suicide while his brother Btsan–po and others, including a son of Khri–'bring known to the Chinese as Kung–jen, fled to China taking with them a considerable number of followers including many Tu–yu–hun over whom they had been exercising jurisdiction. They were warmly received and given titles, rewards and official posts. Btsan–po was appointed to take part in the war against the Tibetans but he died soon after. Kung–jen lived until 723 when a memorial tablet was set up in his honour (Demiéville 1952: 380).

These events are reflected in a badly damaged passage at the end of the Tun–huang *Chronicle.* It can be seen that Pa–tshab Rgyal–to–re, who accompanied Mgar Mang–po–rje Stag–rtsan on his flight to China, sang a song surviving fragments of which mention the sorrow felt by mothers and sisters, Tsong–ka (which is where Khri–'bring met his fate), and a share or reward (*skal–ba*) from the Chinese ruler. Mang–po–rje Stag–rtsan is not named elsewhere in the *Annals* or *Chronicles* but an association between the Mgar and Pa–tshab clans is seen in the entry of the Tibetan *Annals* for the year 690; perhaps Mang–po–rje Stag–rtsan is the Kung–jen of the T'ang Annals. To Pa–tshab's song Mang–po–rje's wife Cog–ro–za replied. There is an unfortunate lacuna which conceals the vital point whether she did or did not accompany her husband into exile. The indications are that she did not. She mentions Nyen–kar stag–rtse, which was a castle of the *btsan–po*,

and appears to describe it as a prison — *lcags-khyim*; and later she refers to her lord Stag–rtsan and the Chinese Emperor as being on friendly terms. Fortunately there are two other songs in an earlier part of the Tun–huang *Chronicle* with a bearing on the question. In the first, one Khe–rgad Rgyal–to–re Mdo–snang derides Cog–ro–za at a time when, as the *Chronicle* says, she and 'Dus–srong were living together. She replies, briefly, in what seems like a spirit of resigned acceptance. It is outside the scope of this article to attempt a detailed interpretation of these obscure and allusive songs but they appear to confirm that, whether reluctantly or not, Cog–ro–za became 'Dus–srong's mistress as the spoils of war.

In another of those splendid, allusive songs 'Dus–srong celebrated, arrogantly and contemptuously, the elimination of the Mgar family and the release of the royal family from the shackles of a virtual shogunate lasting nearly fifty years. After their fall nothing more was heard of the Mgar in early Tibetan records. Although it receives no more than bare mention, their achievement in domestic administration and the institution of a code of law cannot be concealed, but with the two exceptions noted above they are denied the praise they deserve. The Chinese, on the other hand, leave no doubt that they were responsible for building a great and powerful Tibetan kingdom; and it appears that descendents of the great Stong–rtsan–yul–zung may have survived for over a century in China from where they perhaps found their way back into the borderlands of Tibet. The rulers of Sde–dge claimed the Mgar as their ancestors and similar, though less probable, claims were made by other Tibetan families (see Stein 1963).

The origins of this remarkable family are uncertain. The clan first appears, in the Tibetan *Chronicle*, together with the Mnyan, as ministers of the ruler of Ngas–po. When he was overthrown by his Mnyan ministers and the neighbouring ruler of 'O–yul, the Mgar appear to have survived unscathed. They did so again when the prince of 'O–yul and the Mnyan were overthrown by Spu–rgyal btsan–po, Gnam–ri–slon–mtshan, the ruler of Yar–lung; and it was not long before a Mgar minister appeared in the service of the Yar–lung dynasty which they proceeded to dominate for half a century.

Mgar–ba is Tibetan for "smith, metal worker." In Chinese the name is represented by characters variously read as Chiu, Sie and Nie. In his erudite article mentioned above, Stein, while reconciling the Chinese forms with the name Mgar, dismisses the possibility that the name means "smith," arguing that in later records it appears regularly as 'Gar and that the Tibetans, who love etymological explanations, do not seem to have interpreted it in that way. On the other hand, by the time the name appears in those later, Buddhist, records the aura of mystery and special magical powers that surround the blacksmith's craft had become something ill–omened through the association of iron with lethal weapons. Blacksmiths became a caste whose members were not permitted to enter religious orders and with whom it was undesir-

able to marry or even to eat. Most of those named 'Gar in later records are monks and it would have been unsuitable for them and their kinsmen to bear the inauspicious name Mgar. Similarly, leading noble families which liked to trace their descent back to Srong–brtsan–sgam–po's great minister Mgar Stong–rtsan–yul–zung would also seek to avoid the slur on their supposed ancestor and themselves by changing the name to 'Gar. Mgar, which is without exception the form in surviving early documents, would not be the only name to undergo a change in later years.

As early as the sixth century Tibetans were renowned as metal–workers and armourers. Whether or not any social stigma attached to them at that time it appears that among the neighbouring Turks blacksmiths were honoured as well as being held in superstitious awe. According to Tucci, there was even a relationship between royalty and the blacksmith's craft; and there are some pointers to a connection between the Mgar and the Turks. When their former master, the ruler of Ngas–po, was killed it was to the Turks that his son fled. In Tibetan operations in western Central Asia in the seventh century there was so close a rapport between generals of the Mgar family and the Turkish tribes that when the Ten Tribes were left without a leader, two sections gave their allegiance to the Tibetan commander. A further hint of Turkic sympathy with the Mgar may be seen in the name Khe–rgad Rgyal–to–re who had harsh words to say of Mgar Mang–po–rje's wife Cog–ro–za when she was living with the *btsan–po* and who later led a rebellion against 'Dus–srong. The Khe–rgad were a Turkic people — the Kirghiz? — living to the north of the Ten Tribes of the Western Turks. Finally, in his song of triumph over the Mgar, 'Dus–srong, scorning their ambitions, says *mgar bu ni rje ru re*, which may mean "no son of the Mgar shall be king" or "no blacksmith boy shall be king." 'Dus–srong's bitter contempt and the coolness of early Tibetan records towards the really remarkable achievements of the Mgar family in building the greatness of the Tibetan kingdom may suggest that their offence in arrogating the authority and power of Spu–rgyal btsan–po was aggravated by what, in Tibetan eyes, was their lowly origin.

MODERN SIKKIM IN AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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The political history of Sikkim prior to the emergence of a centralized political system in the mid–seventeenth century is as obscure as the origin of its indigenous population, the Lepchas. No Sikkimese chronicles or written records for this earlier period have been discovered as yet, nor has there been any thorough study made of the few known archaeological sites that predate the seventeenth century. Only brief and comparatively vague references to this section of the Himalaya are found in available Tibetan and Indian records despite the fact that several routes — travelled by pilgrims and traders — traversed Sikkim, linking the Gangetic plains with the Central Asian highlands.

The pre–historical period in Sikkim thus extends up to the seventeenth century, given present sources of information. There are indications in both Tibetan sources and Sikkimese legends that the area formed part of the dominion of the vigorous dynasty that ruled Tibet as well as most of the surrounding regions in all directions from the seventh to the eleventh centuries. The Sikkimese ruler, Chogyal Thutob Namgyal, in a history of Sikkim completed in 1908, asserts that Sikkim was part of the great Tibetan empire whose borders "reached down to India" (Maharaja Thutob Namgyal and Maharani Yeshay Dolma 1908: 45). But there is no archaeological evidence to substantiate this statement, and this is indeed curious as the early Tibetan kings were assiduous builders of ponderous stone forts and religious edifices elsewhere. Nor are there many readily ascertainable references to Sikkim in the available Tibetan sources on early Tibetan history or in the Tun–huang annals and the T'ang dynastic histories. Indian sources on Sikkim prior to the eighteenth century add little to our knowledge of this area: the voluminous Muslim records of Bengal (thirteenth–eighteenth centuries), for instance, seldom concern themselves with the hill areas to the north.

The absorption of Sikkim into the Tibetan religious and cultural system can be dated only very approximately. Sikkimese traditions assert that the great Indian saint, the Mahāguru Padmasambhava, who reputedly exerted a tremendous influence on Tibetan Buddhism in the eighth century, had also resided for some time in Sikkim and had converted the local populace to Buddhism. The latter claim is certainly exaggerated, and it is probably not until the fourteenth or fifteenth century that Buddhism made any real impact on this area. In any case, by the seventeenth century most of the indigenous population of Sikkim had adopted at least the superficial aspects of Buddhism, apparently as the result of the missionary activities of a number

of Tibetan monks who fled to this area to escape political and religious upheavals in Tibet. Indeed, the modern political system in Sikkim, which had its origin in the seventeenth century, seems to have been shaped in large part by the intense religious and political struggle in Tibet that culminated eventually in the establishment of the Dalai Lama as the predominant religious and political authority to the north of the Himalayan crest.

The struggle in Tibet in the sixteenth–seventeenth century was, on one level at least, a conflict between adherents of the Gelugpa sect, headed by the Dalai Lama, and the various other sects. In 1642, with the assistance of his Qośot Mongol allies from Tsinghai, the "Great Fifth" Dalai Lama finally managed to conquer Shigatse in Tsang Province, the center of Kagyupa strength. The victory of the Gelugpa in Central Tibet had a tremendous impact on surrounding areas. Many Kagyupa monks and their lay followers dispersed to hill areas beyond the political control of the Dalai Lama, including Sikkim and Bhutan. We can assume that it was more than coincidental that new political systems emerged in both these countries in these periods. Indeed, the first "consecrated" ruler of the Namgyal dynasty in Sikkim was crowned by three refugee Nyingmapa lamas from Tibet in 1642, the year the Gelugpas completed their conquest of Tsang Province.

The circumstances under which the new ruling elite in Sikkim emerged had a strong impact on its subsequent political history, and particularly upon its relationship with the Gelugpa–dominated political system in Tibet. While some form of accommodation with the Dalai Lama was necessary, it is very suggestive that *no* Gelugpa monasteries were established in Sikkim until after 1959, i.e., only after the Chinese Communists had seized effective control of Tibet and the Dalai Lama had taken refuge in India. The Gelugpa policy in areas under its control had been to establish religious–political centers, either by building new monasteries or by converting the monastic institutions of the other sects into Gelugpa monasteries. It would seem probable that their failure to do so in Sikkim can be attributed to the unwillingness of the new ruling authorities there to countenance the intrusion of Gelugpa political influence. This was, doubtless, a major factor in Sikkim's success in maintaining a broad degree of independence from Tibet during the critical period between 1642 and the end of the eighteenth century when the advent of dominant British power in India resulted in the complete transformation of the power structure throughout the Himalayan area.

Buddhist sects in Sikkim and Bhutan

According to Bhutanese traditions, the Drukpa sect was brought to Bhutan in the thirteenth century, but it was only at the time of the first Shabdrung (1616–1652) that the Drukpa established a dominant position throughout Bhutan. The Nyingmapa sect apparently had conducted most of the pioneer missionary work in Sikkim.[1] The date of its introduction is uncertain, but most of the earliest monasteries and shrines in Sikkim, which date from

the period of the founding of the Namgyal dynasty or shortly before, belong to this sect.[2] The fourth Namgyal ruler, Gyurme Namgyal (1717–1733), however, became attached to the Karmapa sect while on a long pilgrimage in Tibet, and founded three important monasteries of this sect in Sikkim. I do not have substantial information on the relationship between the two sects, but intersectarian rivalry would seem to have made only a minor contribution to the political turbulence in Sikkim in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

While the Namgyal dynasty was careful to avoid discriminating between the two sects, it has been more closely associated with the Karmapa sect in some respects. Chogyal Sidkeong Namgyal (1863–1874), for instance, was an incarnate of a Karmapa lama from Tibet. His grandson, Chogyal Sidkeong Tulku, and the late ruler, Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal, were incarnates in the same succession and were affiliated with the important Karmapa monastery at Phodong in Sikkim. On the other hand, Nyingmapa monastic institutions far outnumber those of the Karmapa, and Nyingmapa lamas maintained a close relationship with the ruling family, including the position of royal priests. The head lama of the foremost Nyingmapa monastery, Pemiongche, for instance, was responsible for the installation of the Namgyal ruler in the coronation ceremonies, presumably as the successor to the Nyingmapa lama Lhatsun Chenpo, who performed the first installation ceremony in 1642.

It is interesting to note that the principal Sikkimese and Bhutanese monasteries had virtually no direct relationship with each other, probably because there were no Drukpa monasteries in Sikkim during most of this period. This may be in the process of changing now that access to Tibetan monastic institutions is much reduced. Traditionally, Pemiongche and several other Nyingmapa monasteries in Sikkim had a "guru–chela" relationship with the two Nyingmapa monasteries in southeastern Tsang Province — Mindroling and Dorjetrak — to which monks were sent for further training and education. The three principal Karmapa monasteries — Raling, Phodang and Rumtek — were affiliated with Tsurphu Monastery near Lhasa.[3] There were also several Sikkimese monasteries in Tibet, including Thirori, Portsa and Potok in Dodak, Samdup in Phari, Thontrak and Sidhak near Kala, Kitsum Tsal and Bakcham in Yatung, and Shari near Shigatse. In addition, a few Sikkimese monks received training at the three most important Gelugpa monasteries near Lhasa — Ganden, Sera and Drepung.[4]

We know less about the relationship of Bhutanese and Tibetan monasteries. Apparently the Drukpa monastery at Ralung in Tibet (to be distinguished from the Sikkimese Ralung monastery) continued to serve as the principal training center for Bhutanese monks until post–1959 events made this impossible.[5] Both Sikkim and Bhutan had to develop new training facilities within their own territory, and in conjunction with the Dalai Lama,

the Ladakhi monasteries and other Buddhist centers in India and Nepal. In Sikkim a theological school (*bshad-grwa*) for the Nyingmapa sect was set up near Gangtok, and one for the Karmapa sect at Rumtek Monastery. It is also planned to set up a center for higher (meditation) studies at Dubla Monastery, where students from both *bshad-grwa* schools will be sent.

Traditional political institutions in Sikkim: The Namgyal dynasty

The Namgyal family traces its ancestry back to an Indian ruling house in a small hill state of what is now Himachal Pradesh in India.[6] According to Namgyal traditions, a member of the Indian family migrated to Kham in Tibet around the ninth century, and there succeeded in establishing his rule over the principality of Minyak. In the thirteenth century, Khe Bum Sa, a scion of this family, made a pilgrimage to Sakya Monastery in Tsang. According to the Namgyal geneologies, he married a daughter of the lama ruler of Sakya, and later gained authority over the Chumbi Valley, bordering on present-day Sikkim. His descendants remained there for the next 250 years, as an autonomous political authority in this period of extreme political decentralization in Tibet. The family established close relations with some of the Lepcha chieftains of Sikkim, as well as Tibetan and Bhutanese clans in the vicinity of Chumbi.

The Namgyal family changed its center of operation toward the end of the sixteenth century when Guru Tashi married the daughter of an influential chieftain from the important trading center of Gangtok in Sikkim. Guru Tashi is considered to be the first Namgyal ruler of Sikkim, although it is apparent from the Sikkimese chronicles that his political authority was limited to a small area around Gangtok and the Chumbi Valley. The protagonist of the modern Sikkim state was Guru Tashi's great-grandson, Phuntsog Namgyal, the first "consecrated" ruler of the country. In the middle of the seventeenth century, this king greatly expanded the area under Namgyal control and established what was probably the first centralized administrative system in this section of the eastern Himalayan hills.

What were the circumstances that enabled Phuntsog Namgyal to carve out a sizeable kingdom in difficult mountainous terrain inhabited largely by non-Tibetan tribes? In the first place, the chronicles suggest that the Lepcha community was badly divided in this period, and that conflict between the various clans had become endemic.[7] According to a Nepalese source, it was also at this time that the Kirati tribes, inhabiting what is now eastern Nepal, lost their social and cultural homogeneity (Chemjong 1961: 25–26). The Limbus of northeastern Nepal — the Tsongs of the Sikkimese and Tibetan records — were gradually absorbed into the Tibetan Buddhist cultural system and used Tibetan script while the Kiratis to the south and west adopted Hindu rituals, Brahmanic priests and an Indian script. Furthermore, a number of Bhutia (Tibetan) families — twelve according to tradition — accompanied Guru Tashi to Sikkim and settled there. In the

Sikkimese chronicles, Phuntsog Namgyal also attracted support from broad sections of the Lepcha and Tsong communities. No doubt the legitimation of Phuntsog Namgyal's claim to sovereignty, as symbolized by the consecration ceremony in 1642 presided over by three highly respected Nyingmapa lamas from Tibet, was an important factor in gaining the support of these three communities which followed the Nyingmapa creed. At its maximum expansion, Phuntsog Namgyal's kingdom included, in addition to present-day Sikkim, the Chumbi Valley in Tibet, the area of Nepal to the east of the Tamar and Kosi Rivers, Darjeeling district plus some of the plains area in India and the section of Bhutan west of the Tagong Pass.

The administrative system created by Phuntsog Namgyal and his successors also reflected the multi-communal character of Sikkimese society. A council, consisting of representitives from each of the twelve main Bhutia clans, was constituted, from which the central administration (i.e., the Court) was drawn. The kingdom was subdivided into twelve Dzongs (districts) headed by Lepcha Dzongpons (district officers). After the acquisition of the Limbu areas, several Tsong chieftains were also given a status equivalent to Dzongpon, and were thus incorporated into the political elite of Sikkim. This communal division of functions apparently did not survive very long in its original form. During the reign of the second Chogyal, Tensung Namgyal (1670–1700), the State Council was revamped to include representatives of leading Bhutia, Lepcha and Tsong families. Kalons (ministers) at the Court were appointed from their ranks; these officials later came to be called "kajis" by the Nepalese settlers in Sikkim, and it is the title still in general use. A broader body, called the Lhadi Medi, was summoned at times of national emergency, consisting of all important civil and monastic officials of the three communities.

It is significant that no division of temporal and spiritual authority ever evolved in Sikkim comparable to that of the Shabdrung–Druk Desi system in Bhutan, nor were sovereign political powers entrusted to a religious official as under the Dalai Lama system in Tibet. From the beginning, or at least shortly thereafter, the Namgyal ruler enjoyed full temporal and spiritual powers.[8] While available records are unclear on this point, it would appear that Phuntsog Namgyal was granted the prestigious title of Chogyal, supposedly used by the Tibetan ruling dynasty several centuries earlier. A Chogyal (*chos-rgyal*) is a "religious king," the "protector of religion" or the "defender of the faith," the equivalent of the Sanskrit *dharmarāja*. The Namgyal monarch, therefore, was the head of the Buddhist establishment in Sikkim, and was considered to be a manifestation of Chana Dorji (Vajrapāṇi), one of the Buddhist trinity (*rigs-gsum mgon-po*) consisting of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi. The Chogyal had full powers in the appointment or dismissal of monastic officials and monks and was also competent to decide on questions involving monastic discipline or disputes. Indeed, monastic

rules (*bca'-yig*) presently in force in Sikkim were standardized by Chogyal Sidkeong Tulku in 1914. This dual role of the Chogyal may account for the relative lack of strife between Buddhist institutions in Sikkim.

As the Chogyal succeeded on a hereditary basis rather than via the incarnation process, marriage ties always played an important role in the fortunes of the dynasty. The second Chogyal, Tensung Namgyal, married Bhutanese, Tibetan and Tsong wives, apparently in an effort to assimilate the various communities of Sikkim. The results, however, were nearly disastrous for the Namgyals. The other Limbu families resented the precedence given to one of their number, and Bhutan later used the alleged maltreatment of the daughter born of the Bhutanese queen as an excuse for the invasion of Sikkim. The Namgyals revised their marriage policy thereafter. Marital ties with Bhutan were avoided until the twentieth century, when a sister of the Chogyal was married into one of the powerful but contentious elite families of Bhutan. Tensing Namgyal (1780–1793) obtained a bride from a prominent Lepcha kaji family of southwestern Sikkim; this led to further internal dissensions, the repercussions of which have not yet entirely disappeared, and to the loss of Ilam District to Nepal. It was these experiences, presumably, that inspired the caustic Sikkimese proverb, "a dog has no uncle, a king has no relations." Thereafter, until 1963, the Namgyals obtained their wives from prominent Tibetan families whose pedigrees may have been of the highest order but whose relatives were in no position to cause dissension in Sikkim.

We have already noted that the Namgyal kingdom was founded upon the voluntary attachment of several Bhutia, Lepcha and Tsong families to the interests of the Namgyals, and their accommodation into the administration at both the central and local levels. These kaji families were compensated for their services to the Court through the distribution of land grants. In theory, these lands were "leased" to the official for the period of service or for a prescribed number of years. Ownership rights were retained by the Court, which could resume the land at its own discretion. But external aggression and domestic turmoil gradually weakened the authority of the Chogyal over the kaji families, and a "feudalizing" process set in. The tendency was for leased lands to remain in the hands of a kaji family even when it no longer provided the services to the Court that had originally prompted the land grant.

Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century the district administrative system introduced by the first two Chogyals had been basically revised by the lessee landlord system introduced by the British political officer. The kajis had largely replaced the Dzongpons as the agency of administration at the local level.[9] They functioned as (1) revenue collectors, retaining a substantial proportion of the revenues as their compensation; (2) as judges, with broad judicial powers in their leased areas; and (3) as law enforcement officials, with their own body of armed retainers. To assist them in their duties, the

kajis appointed a subordinate class of officials, termed mandals, who were assigned a village or group of villages to administer. With the exception of royal lands, kaji private estates, monastic lands and a few reserved areas, the whole of Sikkim came under the lessee system. The sovereign prerogatives of the Namgyal ruler, as well as his capacity to implement his decisions, were severely atrophied. The result was progressive decentralization, a struggle for power in Sikkim between rival kaji families and the royal family, and a lack of determination and unity in meeting external aggression which, indeed, on occasion was invited into Sikkim by one or the other political factions.

A further complication emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century with the introduction of extensive Nepalese settlement in Sikkim. The Khangsapas of Chakhung, a powerful kaji family of southwest Sikkim with close ties to British officials and Newari merchant houses in Darjeeling, saw an opportunity to improve both their economic situation and political influence at the expense of their Sikkimese rivals and the royal palace. Two Khangsapa brothers had been appointed ministers, on British insistence, at the Court during the minority of Chogyal Thutob Namgyal. They used their position to contrive the confiscation of the land of a rival landlord family which had supported the previous Namgyal ruler in a dispute with the British government. The Khangsapas even appropriated some monastic lands, and then subleased these lands to a Newari business establishment in Darjeeling, the Lakshmi Das (Pradhan) brothers. The Pradhans were later given an equivalent lessee landlord status with the title of Thikadari, and were encouraged to bring in Nepalese settlers on a contract basis to settle the land.

This immediately became a disruptive issue in Sikkimese politics, and has remained so ever since, even after Sikkim's accession into the Indian Republic in 1975. On reaching his majority, Chogyal Thutob Namgyal initiated several measures intended to limit Nepalese migration to Sikkim. He appealed to the British authorities in India on this issue, who were first rather noncommittal but did not object to the Sikkim Court's measures. But British policy was drastically revised following a brief undeclared war with Tibet over Sikkim in 1888–1889. The new British political officer assigned to Sikkim, J. Claude White, followed a deliberately pro–Nepalese migration policy based upon the assumption that, given the troubles with Tibet, it was preferable to have Sikkim populated by Hindu Nepalese rather than Buddhist Sikkimese. In the words of a prominent English offical, "the praying–wheel of the lama will give place to the sacrificial implements of the Brahman" (Risley 1894: xxi). Nepalese migrants flooded into Sikkim in the next three decades, mostly on a contractual basis with the Newari Thikadari families or the Khangsapas.

White's successor, Charles Bell, was more sympathetic to the Sikkimese and Tibetans. He allowed the Court to (1) reserve certain areas for Lepchas and Bhutias, and (2) limit Nepalese migration to Sikkim. But this came

too late, and moreover, was never strictly implemented. By the end of the nineteenth century, Sikkim already had a Nepalese majority. The Newari Thikadari families were an influential component of the Sikkimese political elite, as well as the most dynamic factor in the development of the Sikkimese economy, bringing large areas of the state under cultivation and establishing a number of market centers in southern and western Sikkim.

The dispute over the settlement of Nepalese in Sikkim, and the British suspicion that Chogyal Thutob Namgyal harbored pro–Tibetan sentiments, also brought about substantial changes in the central administration after 1890. The Chogyal was detained under house arrest in Darjeeling District for several years. The administration in Sikkim was brought under the supervision of the British Political Officer, who was assisted by the State Council composed largely of kajis who enjoyed the Political Officer's favor, a representative of Pemiongche Monastery, and later Newari Thikadaris. In 1895, Thutob Namgyal was allowed to return to Gangtok, but was kept virtually isolated from the administration which was left in the hands of the Political Officer, assisted by the State Council. Sikkim's important role in the Younghusband expedition into Tibet (1903–1905) moderated the British attitude toward the Namgyal dynasty, and in 1905 the Chogyal was permitted to assume the leadership of the State Council. Gradually the powers of the Chogyal were expanded until finally in 1918 full internal autonomy was restored to the Sikkim Court.

Even a superficial familiarity with the politics of contemporary Sikkim reveals that political alignments in the 1980s are, in part at least, an inheritance of the struggles over Nepalese migration in the nineteenth century and the split that ensued in the Sikkimese political elite. Prior to accession to India in 1975, Lepcha and Bhutia kaji and mandal families that opposed Nepalese migration and supported the Namgyals against both the British and their Sikkimese "favorites" formed the leadership core of the pro–monarchist, strongly nationalist Sikkim National Party. The descendants of the Khangsapa family, and associated Sikkimese and Nepalese families, maintained an "oppositional" posture to the Court, first in coalition with their old Newari Thikadari colleagues in the Sikkim State Congress, and later with a menagerie of other peripheral "non–establishment" groups in the Sikkim National Congress. The Newari Thikadari families and their affiliated Nepalese (not necessarily Newari) families joined the Sikkim State Congress and eventually transformed it into an instrument of their communal interests. A number of other non–Newari Nepalese families, who were not traditionally affiliated with the Thikadaris, have become politically active since 1947. In all these cases, the primary determinant for political affiliation would appear to have been familial or communal factors, as shaped by the complex internal struggles in Sikkim over the past century. The lines of alignment shift back and forth in the more complex politics of Sikkim as a state in the Indian

federal system, but the underlying familial and communal divisions are still readily evident.

Relations with neighbors

The difficulties involved in gaining admittance to the Himalayan border states in the past — and today in some areas — has lent an exotic quality to these societies that even the exigencies of the Sino–Indian border dispute of the 1960s did not entirely dispel. To the few Westerners aware of their existence in those days, these states were considered to lie in the backwash of the mainstream of developments in Asia, isolated by their spectacular but awesome geographical features and unaffected for the most part by what was happening around them. Nothing was further from the facts. The "isolation" of the border states, as much a self–imposed condition as a natural phenomenon, did not prevent them from playing an active and integral role in political developments in surrounding areas.

Indeed, in view of the primitive state of the communication system, it is astonishing how quickly events at one end of the Himalayan range had their repercussions at the other end, and how well–informed the authorities in these areas were about developments elsewhere. If the ruling powers in India and China often appeared to be less well–informed, this was partly due to the manner in which the local officials, both civil and religious, controlled and distorted channels of information to the more powerful neighbors to the south and north, and in part to the poor Indian and Chinese intelligence services on developments in this area. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for example, Nepal, Sikkim, Tibet and Bhutan all deliberately misled the British authorities in India as to the true nature of their relationship with the Chinese Court, in the process demonstrating considerable sophistication in playing upon British repugnance for a power struggle with China in this vast borderland. Indeed, they were so successful that some contemporary Western observers, citing British Indian official sources, continue to repeat basic misconceptions on this and related questions that first became current toward the end of the eighteenth century.

Sikkim and Bhutan, thus, have long formed part of a broader if not necessarily homogenous political, cultural and economic system. But Sikkim's and Bhutan's responses to these external stimuli have often differed in important respects, probably as a reflection of the differences in their geopolitical situation. Bhutan is more isolated than Sikkim with less developed lines of communication to both the south and north. Thus, Bhutan has been in a better position to evolve an autonomous political structure with an ebullient sense of confidence in its relative inviolability to foreign domination. While Bhutan has been invaded on several occasions in the modern period, it has never been conquered or even seriously threatened by the aggressors, whether Tibetan, Chinese or British. When the Bhutanese finally accommodated themselves, on a very limited scale, to the British political system in

India, this was due to two factors: the vulnerability of their valuable duar lands at the foot of the hills on the Indian border and the preponderance of British power throughout the entire Himalayan border area, including Tibet. Even under these conditions, the Bhutanese never seem to have apprehended a serious British threat to their political heartland, the central Himalayan valleys.

Sikkim's geopolitical position offers a striking contrast to that of Bhutan, as the former has always been both more exposed and less secure against external aggression. Sikkim's central location and comparatively easy lines of communication have made it a volatile factor in the periodic crises that have disrupted the peace of the Himalayas, and a deeply engrained sense of insecurity has been a chronic and pervasive factor in the shaping of the Sikkimese world view. In dramatizing Sikkim's perennial struggle for survival, for instance, one chronicler bewailed the fact that his country has been overrun by: "...the shameless hordes of the east (Bhutanis) resembling dogs, powerful hordes like elephants (British) from the south, active hordes like monkeys (Nepalese) from the west, and wily hordes like foxes (Tibetans) from the north."[10]

Except for the initial period of expansion following the founding of the Namgyal dynasty, Sikkim was constantly beset by more powerful neighbors. It was able to maintain some degree of independence only because of the rivalry among these powers and their unwillingness to allow Sikkim to come under the sole control of any one of them.

Relations with British India and Tibet

This tenuous and often shifting balance of power between Sikkim's various neighbors lasted until the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Once the British government of India decided to "open" the Sikkim route to Tibet, however, there were no effective counterbalances to British power. Sikkim could have been absorbed into the Indian Empire as a momentary afterthought at any time during this period, and no one outside of Sikkim would have noticed. Fortunately for the Namgyal dynasty, British Indian frontier policy did not run in this direction, but instead favored the creation of a "buffer" zone between India and the Chinese and Russian empires. Both Sikkim and Bhutan were integral parts of this buffer system. British "influence" was asserted far more forcefully in the former state, however, because of the decision to use Sikkim as the principal channel of communications between India and Tibet. A direct British "presence" was considered necessary in Sikkim through the appointment of a Political Officer with broad supervisory and implied residual political and administrative powers.

Thus, Sikkim was more closely integrated into the British colonial system in India than either Nepal or Bhutan. The British even felt constrained to seek public Chinese and Tibetan recognition of their "protectorate" status in Sikkim, something that was achieved in a more informal fashion for Sikkim's

neighbors to the east and west. The Ch'ing court recognized the British protectorate in Sikkim in the 1890 Anglo–Chinese Convention, to which the Tibetans concurred in the 1905 Anglo–Tibetan agreement. It was not merely coincidental, therefore, that the only jointly demarcated section of the entire Himalayan border prior to 1947 was the Sikkim–Tibet boundary. The Communist regime in China has recognized the validity of the 1890 Convention, and has stated on several occasions that there is no boundary dispute in this area.

Sikkim, on the other hand, was not a party to any of these agreements and, prior to 1975, had not accepted the terms of settlement involved as, in its view, the 1890 treaty ignored Sikkim's historical claims to the Chumbi Valley in Tibet. There was even the feeling that the British Indian Government sacrificed Sikkim's territorial integrity because of its own selfish political interest in seeking a settlement with China and Tibet along a viable border. Nor were Sikkim's territorial claims restricted to Tibet. In 1947, shortly before India achieved independence, the Sikkim Court had formally applied to New Delhi for the restoration of the Darjeeling district that had been ceded to the British in 1836 and 1861 (Sikkim 1947). Apparently there was no direct response to this application, as the British did nothing to alter the existing relationship between the successor government in India and the Himalayan border state. Independent India proved to be no more inclined to indulge Sikkim on the Darjeeling question than the British had been, much to Sikkim's disappointment. While the issue aroused little attention abroad, the Sikkim Court's long–standing grievance over Darjeeling was one factor that aroused concern in India over the Sikkim government's policies — or at least provided some Indians with an excuse for advocating intervention.

There would appear to be no equally persuasive historical basis for anti–Chinese and anti–Tibetan sentiment in Sikkim — again in contrast to Bhutan which had to fight off Tibetan aggression on several occasions. The nature of Tibet's relationship to Sikkim and Bhutan — as well as that of the Ch'ing dynasty's representitives at the Dalai Lama's court — is one that defies definition in modern political and legalistic terms, although of course this has not prevented several commentators from attempting to do just that. The complex intra– and intersectarian ties between Sikkimese, Bhutanese and Tibetan monastic institutions were not, of course, devoid of political implications. Highly placed Tibetan lamas, though never of the Gelugpa sect, were brought in to mediate internal political disputes in Sikkim and Bhutan on several occasions. A number were even given high civil posts at these courts, although not as representitives of the Tibetan government.

It would also appear that Sikkim and Bhutan rendered homage to the Dalai Lama in his spiritual capacity as head of the Gelugpa sect and as one of the leading avatars in the lamaistic hierarchy. Annual gifts were exchanged with the Dalai Lama by both the Chogyal of Sikkim and the Shabdrung of

Bhutan. The ambiguity implicit in these complex religious and commercial ties, however, is not equally evident in the political sphere (Miller 1961). Lhasa never exercised any form of political authority in Sikkim or Bhutan, nor did it have the right to approve, much less appoint, any of the civil or monastic officals in either country. Furthermore, in defining Tibet's political boundaries, Lhasa was always careful to exclude both Sikkim and Bhutan as areas of direct responsibility. The British invasions of Sikkim (1836 and 1861) and Bhutan (1772 and 1865), for instance, were not denounced as violations of Tibetan territory by the Dalai Lama's court as was the 1903 crossing into the Chumbi Valley by the Younghusband expedition. Thus, Tibet's and China's recognition of British "paramountcy" in Sikkim (1890) and Bhutan (1910) may have constituted a diminution of their sphere of influence but was hardly a territorial concession to British imperialism, as contemporary Chinese propaganda alleges.

Relations with Nepal

Given their broad degree of similarity, it is surprising that relations between Sikkim and Bhutan have traditionally been marked more by rivalry and hostility than by a common awareness of their respective interests. This difference in approach is reflected also in their perception of Nepal as a neighbor.

Sikkim's relations with the present royal family in Nepal were disastrous from the very beginning. The first clash between the Namgyal and Shah dynasties occurred in the early 1770s, a few years after the Gorkha ruler, Prithvi Narayan Shah, had brought Kathmandu Valley and surrounding areas under his control. The issue in dispute was domination of the Limbu areas to the east of the Arun River. While the Limbus had successfully overthrown Sikkimese domination a few decades earlier,[11] the Sikkim Court was not prepared to concede control of this area to another power without some show of resistance. The contest went against Sikkim, however, which itself was largely conquered by Gorkha armies in 1788 and only regained part of the territory it had lost during the Nepal–Tibet–China war of 1791–1793.

The threat of incorporation into the Gorkha empire was not finally removed until after Nepal's defeat in a war with British India, 1814–1816. The treaty that followed guaranteed Sikkim against a military invasion from Nepal, but did not insulate Sikkim against other forms of Nepalese expansionism, in particular wide–scale migration of Nepalese into sparsely settled southern and western Sikkim. As a result, by the end of the nineteenth century Sikkim had a large, essentially indigestible Nepalese majority, and a persistant political crisis. Kathmandu has never yet been in a position to intervene effectively in support of the Nepalese community in Sikkim or take advantage of its existence politically because of British, and later, Indian interposition between the two states. During the 1960s, however, a number of Nepalese politicians sought to establish ties with Nepalese political

groups in Sikkim, to the great concern of both the Sikkim Court and the Indian government. These did not make much progress, but there was at one point a general if vague impression in Kathmandu that the absorption of Sikkim, with its huge Nepalese majority, was only a matter of time if the Nepal government played its cards carefully and cleverly.

Naturally the Sikkim Court did not share this view of the basic situation. Indeed, it perceived divisive forces at work in Nepalese society that made its survival as a unitary state unpredictable. This was based on the assumption that a "Mongoloid–Buddhist" and "Aryan–Hindu" cultural–communal division is the most pervasive factor in Himalayan area politics. According to this line of analysis, the assertively Aryan–Hindu character of the present ruling dynasty in Nepal is leading to the progressive alienation of a large segment of Nepal's population that is Mongoloid racially and Buddhist culturally, and is only now becoming politically conscious. This view of Nepalese society, which is certainly controversial, also appeared to affect the Sikkim Court's appraisal of and policy toward the Nepalese community — in Sikkim. Here again the tendency was to deny any broad degree of ethnic homogeneity to this group, but rather to view it as a loose affiliation of communities that were divided on racial and religious lines as well as in their perception of their own socioeconomic interests.[12] The implication was that non–Aryan, non–Hindu elements in the Nepalese community in Sikkim, which were small landholders for the most part, were less attached to Nepal as a *political entity* and, thus, more willing to accomodate themselves to the Chogyal's political system in Sikkim than their Aryan–Hindu neighbors.

The Chogyal's perceptions of fundamental racial and religious fissures within the "Nepalese" community in Sikkim were the decisive factor in his decision to adopt a "divide–and–rule" (really a "divide–and–share–the–rule") policy from 1950 into the early 1970s. This strategy worked very well in the 1950s, reasonably well through 1965, but then began to collapse because of some inherent contradictions within its basic operating principles. The eventual result was the emergence of an anti–Chogyal political movement by the 1970s, allegedly encouraged by "outside forces" (to use a favorite Indian terminology) from the south, which led to the Sikkim elections and a referendum in 1974, and the formal accession of Sikkim into the Indian Union in 1975.

While India has been criticized for manipulating these developments, it is apparent that it was the collapse of the Sikkimese political system and the prospect of internecine warfare in a highly strategic border area that seemed to make it imperative for India to take some action. It is, in any case, interesting to note that most of the Sikkimese leaders who led the "accession to India" movement in the mid–1970s have either been retired from politics by the voters or are part of the Sikkimese party alignment that is demanding greater autonomy for Sikkim in the 1980s. The Chogyal's unfortunate death

in 1981 elicited an outpouring of grief from all segments of Sikkim's society, including some political groups that had been instrumental in organizing the movement for his abdication. Subsequently, the Namgyal family has reassumed a subdued but prominent role in the Sikkimese political system in what has become an informal (and certainly unrecognized by New Delhi) "head of state" capacity. It is possible that, despite the Nepalese majority and the accession to India, more of Sikkim's traditional political culture may survive into the next century than anyone would have predicted in 1975.

NOTES

1 The Nyingmapa had also been influential in Bhutan prior to the establishment of the Shabdrung political system, but apparently faded into insignificance — or was suppressed — thereafter.

2 According to Sikkimese traditions, the first monastery in Sikkim was founded at Hungri (western Sikkim) by Rigzin Godenpa (Rgod–ldem–pa), a monk from the Nyingma monastery of Dorjedrak in southern Tibet, toward the end of the fourteenth century. This monastery had already been abandoned, however, by the time Lhatsun Chenpo founded Dubdi Monastery (1643), the predecessor to Pemiongche Monastery. The subsect of the Nyingmapa to which Rigzin Godenpa belonged is now virtually extinct in Sikkim.

3 The incarnate lama of Tsurphu Monastery, the Gyalwang Karmapa, was a refugee in Sikkim, and was recognized as the head of the Karmapa monastery at Rumtek, ten miles from Gangtok. He wielded considerable influence in Buddhist circles in Sikkim and elsewhere in the Himalayas.

4 These Gelugpa monasteries contained a number of dormitories to which admission was determined on a regional basis. There were separate dormitories in some disciplines for Ladakh, Nepal, India, China, Mongolia, Sikkim and Bhutan, where non–Gelugpa monks were trained. The Sikkimese monks usually stayed at these Gelugpa monasteries only for about one year studying the courses on logic. The Bhutanese lamas seem to have studied at the Lhasa monasteries in much larger numbers and took the entire course. Several of them attained the geshe degree, the Gelugpa doctorate in theology.

5 The former Indian Advisor to the Government of Bhutan, N.K. Rustomji, who also served as Dewan of Sikkim for several years, was under the impression that Bhutanese monasteries generally were not as closely connected with their co–doctrinal monasteries in Tibet as were the Sikkimese monasteries.

6 There are other traditions as well, including the claims that the Namgyals are descendants of (1) Mahāguru Padmasambhava, or (2) the royal dynasty of Tibet. The genealogy cited in this paper is based upon an official publication of the Sikkim government (Sikkim 1965), and presumably represents the views of the Namgyal family. In any case, it is only for the earliest period that there are substantial differences in the various genealogies, which are in broad agreement once the family is established in the Chumbi Valley.

7 According to Sikkimese legends, the Lepchas had previously been united under the rule of Thekung Tek. Following his death, probably in the early years of the seventeenth century, the Lepchas were unable to agree upon his successor and the community was divided into warring clans supporting various claimants to the Thekung Tek's status.

8 According to one source, Phuntsog Namgyal became a lama at the same time that he was consecrated as king of Sikkim (Waddell 1894: 249). This, however, is incorrect according to one Sikkimese informant who thinks Wad-

dell may have been confused by the fact that Phuntsog Namgyal's image was worshipped along with those of the three lamas who consecrated him.

9 The Dzongpons were excluded from any form of authority over leased lands and served, primarily, as agents for the Chogyal on royal and monastic estates.

10 "Sikkim Random Notes." Manuscript in the Sir Charles Bell Collection at the India Office Library, London (Mss. Eur. F. 80). The Sikkimese author of the manuscript is not identified.

11 In 1741, according to one Nepalese Limbu source (Chemjong 1967: 108).

12 Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal noted that two-thirds of Sikkim's population speak Nepalese but claimed that "many persons in this group are not ethnically Nepalese (i.e., Indo-Aryans) but are of Mongoloid stock" (Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal 1966: 478–479).

MING CH'ENG–TSU AND THE MONK OFFICIALS OF GLING–TSHANG AND GON–GYO

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Throughout his career, Professor Wylie was keenly interested in questions of Tibetan geography and in the history of the Sa–skya–pa sect of Tibetan Buddhism. He strove to open up these areas for scholarly exploration and encouraged others to delve into them. In his memory, I would therefore like to present the following study which elucidates some new information concerning two Sa–skya–pa monk officials from areas in Khams that are somewhat removed from the primary sphere of the sect's power and influence. Both regional figures were the recipients of recognition and honors from the Ming court in the early fifteenth century, and a glance at their relationship with the court of Ming Ch'eng–tsu (r. 1402–1424) may provide us with some insight into Sino–Tibetan relations during this period.

The two monk officials with whom we are concerned are Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan and 'Od–zer–nam–mkha', respectively the first *tsan–shan wang* ("prince who assists virtue") and *hu–chiao wang* ("prince who protects the doctrine") of Ming sources. Studies by Satō Hisashi and others have already shown that they were Sa–skya–pa monks whose seats were located in Khams, in the regions of Gling–tshang and Gon–gyo, respectively.[1] They are the only clerics among the group of eight appointed as *fa–wang* ("king of the dharma; " i.e., "*dharmarāja*") or *wang* ("prince") by the Ming court who were not based in Central Tibet. This may be why there is very little information about them in the Tibetan sources. The few things we do know about them are derived mostly from Chinese sources.

A general summary of Ming dealings with the *tsan–shan wang* and the *hu–chiao wang*, and with Gling–tshang and Gon–gyo in general, is given in *chüan* 331 of the *Ming–shih*,[2] as follows:

> The *tsan–shan wang* was a monk of Gling–tshang [Ch. Ling–tsang]. His region lay beyond the Szechwan frontier; Dbus–gtsang [Ch. Wu–ssu–tsang] was considered to be close to it. When Ch'eng–tsu succeeded to the throne he ordered the monk Chih–kuang[3] to go there on a diplomatic mission. In the fourth year of Yung–lo [1406/1407] the [Gling–tshang] monk Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan [Ch. Cho–ssu–pa–erh chien–tsang] sent an envoy [to court] to present tribute. [Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan] was [therefore] named an "anointed national preceptor" [Ch. *kuan–ting kuo–shih*]. The following year he was appointed *tsan–shan wang* and, as [per the appointment made] before, [retained the title

of] "national preceptor" [Ch. *kuo-shih*]. He was granted a gold seal and a letter patent. In the seventh year [of Yung-lo; i.e., 1409/1410] the eunuch official [Ch. *chung-kuan*] Yang San-pao[4] went [to Gling-tshang] as an envoy. In the first year of Hung-hsi [1425/1426] the [*tsan-shan*] *wang* died. He was succeeded by his nephew, Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan [Ch. Nan-ko chien-tsang]. In the second year of Hsüan-te [1427/1428] the eunuch official Hou Hsien went [to Gling-tshang] on a diplomatic mission.[5] In the fifth year of Cheng-t'ung [1440/1441], [Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan] presented a memorial stating that he was old, and requesting that his eldest son, Dpal-ldan-rgya-mtsho [Ch. Pan-tan chien-ts'o], replace him. The emperor refused his request, yet he conferred [the rank of] regional military commissioner [Ch. *tu chih-hui shih*] on his son.[6]

At first, there were no fixed times at which [Tibetan hierarchs] were to offer tribute. From the Yung-lo [period; i.e., 1403–1424] to the Cheng- t'ung [period; i.e., 1436–1449], sometimes [tribute missions] would come once every other year, and sometimes they would be repeated during one year. And [as for] those items that envoys dispatched by the successive courts went to bestow [upon Tibetan hierarchs], i.e., gold and silks [Ch. *chin-pi*], paper money [Ch. *pao-h'ao*],[7] Buddhist images, ritual implements, monks' robes, and ritual garments: less than [a single] one would have sufficed [Ch. *pu-i erh-tsu*; i.e., the bestowals were in quantities far beyond what was merited]. Then, in the first year of Ch'eng-hua [1465/1466], regulations setting the tribute [missions of the hierarchs] at one every three years were introduced.[8]

In the third year [of Ch'eng-hua; i.e., 1467/1468], it was ordered that Thar-pa-rgyal-mtshan [Ch. T'a-erh-pa chien-ts'an] inherit the appointment [as *tsan-shan wang*]. In former [instances of such] matters, officials were sent out to take and present the patents [Ch. *kao-ch'ih*][9] appointing the Tibetan *wang* along with silks. Now there were numerous matters of urgency on the Western frontier and officials in the Ministry of Rites besought that [these items] be given to the envoy for him to take back [to Gling-tshang].[10] [The request] was complied with.

In the fifth year [of Ch'eng-hua; i.e., 1469/1470] the Szechwan Regional Military Commission [Ch. *tu-ssu*] stated: "None of the *tsan-shan wang* respected the established regulations; they had dispatched an envoy leading 132 Tibetan monks [of various] sorts from each monastery to present tribute. Moreover, [the envoys] did not have documents to which the seal of a Tibetan *wang* had been affixed. Presently, [the military commission] has detained

more than ten people and is holding their articles of tribute. The rest have already been sent back." Officials in the Ministry of Rites stated: "The Tibetan regions are vast and far away. The Tibetan *wang* are also numerous. If they were to comply with the regulations and present tribute at the same time, then the interior prefectures [Ch. *nei–chün*] will be exhausted in satisfying [their tribute missions' needs]. It would be best to order that during the years in which tribute should be presented, all of the *wang* are each to prepare documents to which their seals are to be affixed; and they are to select an order [to be followed in dispatching their tribute missions] and then [the missions] are to come. Now, the [aforementioned] tribute envoys have already arrived. It would be problematic to act contrary to their sentiments. We beseech that [this tribute mission] be allowed to constitute [part of] the quota for the following year's requisite tribute mission." This was declared permissible.[11]

In the eighteenth year [of Ch'eng–hua; i.e., 1482/1483], officials in the Ministry of Rites stated: "It is a fixed regulation that Tibetan *wang* pay tribute once every three years, and that the tribute envoys [should number] 150 [per mission]. Recently, the *tsan–shan wang* has sent two successive tribute [missions] and [thus,] he has already sent 413 people [to court]. Now he requests an appointment and he requests an inheritance; and [in this regard] he has once more sent [an embassy of] 1,550 people. This is contrary to the regulations and ought to be rejected. [However] we beseech that his requests for appointment and inheritance be allowed, and that 300 [of his] people be [accepted] within the quota for two later tribute [missions]." This was also declared to be allowable [by the emperor].[12] Consequently Nam–mkha'–rgyal–mtshan–dpal–bzang–po [Ch. Nan–ko chien–ts'an pa–tsang–pu] was appointed *tsan–shan wang*.[13] In the sixteenth year of Hung–chih [1503/1504], he died and it was ordered that his younger brother, Don–grub–rgyal–mtshan [Ch. Tuan–chu chien–tsan], succeed him.[14] Even after the Chia–ching [period; i.e., 1522–1566], he was still presenting tribute as per the regulations.

The *hu–chiao wang* was named Btsun–pa 'Od–zer–nam–mkha'–dpal–bzang–po [Ch. Tsung–pa Wo–chi nan–ko pa–tsang–pu],[15] and was a monk of Gon–gyo [Ch. Kuan–chiao]. At the commencement of [the reign of] Ch'eng–tsu, the monk Chih–kuang served as an envoy to his region. In the fourth year of Yung–lo [1406/1407] he sent an envoy to present tribute [to the court] and [the title of] "anointed national preceptor" was [therefore]

> conferred upon him by proclamation, and he was [also] granted a letter patent [to that effect]. The following year he sent an envoy to offer thanks [to the court]. He was [therefore] appointed *hu-chiao wang* and granted a gold seal and a letter patent, and as [per the appointment made] before, [retained the title of] "national preceptor." Consequently, he presented tribute year after year. In the twelfth year [of Yung-lo; i.e., 1414/1415], he died. It was ordered that his nephew, 'Od-zer-grags-pa-bzang-po [Ch. Kan (*sic* = Wo)-hsieh-erh chi-la-ssu-pa tsang-pu], was to inherit [the title].[16] During the Hung-hsi and Hsüan-te [periods; i.e., 1425-1435], he too presented tribute. Then he died, and there was no one to inherit [the title]. His rank [i.e., *hu-chiao wang*] was consequently discontinued.

As this passage from the *Ming-shih* shows, the reign of Ming Ch'eng-tsu (the Yung-lo emperor) was singularly important in the relationship between the Ming court on the one hand, and Gling-tshang and Gon-gyo on the other. It was during Ming Ch'eng-tsu's tenure on the throne that the original decisions to initiate relations with the primary figures in both areas and to bestow the rank of *wang* upon them were made. Under later emperors these relations were generally limited to the well-known issue of "tribute" missions, and in fact, after the Hsüan-te reign period one of the areas, Gon-gyo, ceased to be of significant concern to the Ming. Thus, it is necessary to look at Ming Ch'eng-tsu's relations with Chos-dpal-rgyal-mtshan and 'Od-zer-nam-mkha' in order to bring to light the basis for early Ming interest in Gling-tshang and Gon-gyo.

If we turn from the *Ming-shih* to materials in the *Ming shih-lu*, we find further details regarding some of the information just quoted on Gling-tshang and Gon-gyo during the Yung-lo period. Actually, the two regions first appear in the *shih-lu* during Ming Ch'eng-tsu's reign, in an entry for September 4, 1402, concerning the embassy of the monk Chih-kuang. Therein it is recorded that Ch'eng-tsu dispatched Chih-kuang to both Gling-tshang and Gon-gyo, and to Central Tibet and Nepal as well, carrying gifts and edicts (MSS: 48). The two areas are next mentioned in an entry for March 1, 1405, describing the bestowal of silver, paper money, and robes in varicolored silk (Ch. *ts'ai-pi hsi-i*),[17] on one Don-grub-bzang-po (Ch. Tuan-chu tsang-pu)[18] and other unnamed envoys from Gon-gyo, Gling-tshang, and other places (MSS: 51). A few weeks later, on March 31, Chos-dpal-rgyal-mtshan and 'Od-zer-nam-mkha' were both designated *kuan-ting kuo-shih* by the emperor. Envoys were dispatched to present Chos-dpal-rgyal-mtshan with a letter patent, robes, and damask brocades, and 'Od-zer-nam-mkha' with a letter patent, silver and silks (MSS: 51-52). The entries recording the bestowals of titles and gifts on the two hierarchs are the first to give their names. 'Od-zer-nam-mkha' is mentioned again with the title *kuan-*

ting kuo–shih in a *shih–lu* entry for April 5, 1407, which records the arrival at court of a sixty–one member mission, sent by him and others to present the court with horses.[19]

The next reference to Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan and 'Od–zer–nam–mkha' in the *Ming shih–lu* is in an entry for April 20, 1407, the one that records their respective appointments as *tsan–shan wang* and *hu–chiao wang* (MSS: 55). In addition, the entry further notes that on this same occasion they were ordered to cooperate with the Phag–mo–gru–pa lord Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan (upon whom Ming Ch'eng–tsu had already bestowed the title of *ch'an–hua wang* ["the prince who spreads magical transformations"]),[20] and others, in order to "reestablish the relay stations [Ch. *i–chan*], so as to allow the passage of envoys of the Western Regions" (MSS: 55). At this time too, the court bestowed military titles on a number of local "headmen" (Ch. *t'ou–mu*) who had presented horses as tribute, including figures from Gling–tshang, Gon–gyo and elsewhere.[21] When the court reiterated this order on January 25, 1414, an envoy was sent to both clerics as well as to Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan and the others (MSS: 64).

Almost all other mentions of Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan and 'Od–zer–nam–mkha' in Ming Ch'eng–tsu's *shih–lu* are limited to brief references to embassies bearing gifts from the hierarchs to the court, or vice versa (similar to those references in earlier *shih–lu* entries that we have already noted). An entry for May 24, 1408, tells of a mission to the Ming court from 'Od–zer–nam–mkha',[22] while another, for March 11, 1413, records the arrival of an embassy sent by Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan, 'Od–zer–nam–mkha', and the 'Bri–gung–pa hierarch Don–grub–rgyal–po.[23] An entry for June 26, 1415, records the death of 'Od–zer–nam–mkha' and Ch'eng–tsu's dispatch of an envoy with orders that the cleric's nephew, 'Od–zer–grags–pa–bzang–po, accede to his titles (MSS: 65–66). The new *hu–chiao wang* is mentioned only once more in Ch'eng–tsu's *shih–lu*, in an entry for June 5, 1416, dealing with a mission bearing horses, sent to the Ming court by him and others.[24] Further references to Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan in the *shih–lu* are found in an entry for October 30, 1419, recording the dispatch of a mission to him,[25] and in entries for March 26, 1422, and March 15, 1423, which mention missions from him (the earlier of which brought horses to present to the court).[26]

The only substantive issue on which Ming Ch'eng–tsu is known to have dealt with either Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan or 'Od–zer–nam–mkha' is that of reestablishing relay stations in Tibet. We should note that there is no evidence to suggest any sort of spiritual relationship linking either hierarch to the emperor. This contrasts very clearly with the cases of the three *fa–wang* who personally visited the court of Ming Ch'eng–tsu (i.e., De–bzhin–gshegs–pa, the Fifth Karma–pa;[27] Kun–dga'–bkra–shis, the head of the Lha–khang branch of the Sa–skya–pa;[28] and Shakya–ye–shes, the founder of the Dge–lugs–pa monastery of Se–ra[29]). All of the *fa–wang* had direct contact with

Ch'eng–tsu, and all performed religious rituals on his behalf. It is really this facet of their relationship with the court that sets them apart from the *wang* and explains the character *fa* ("dharma") in their titles. Ming Ch'eng–tsu's relationship with Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan and 'Od–zer–nam–mkha' (as well as with the other *wang*) was, on the other hand, a secular relationship. In general, the emperor's dealings with the five *wang* were closely bound to the broader issues of trade (under the rubric of "tribute") and the early Ming need for foreign horses; we may note in this respect that with one exception, all of the *wang* are specifically mentioned in the *shih–lu* as having presented horses to the court at one time or another.[30] In the cases of Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan and 'Od–zer–nam–mkha' the imperial link was additionally bound up with the authority enjoyed by the two clerics in Khams and thus (judging from the *shih–lu* record of the court's dealings with them), with their presumed ability to assist in keeping the routes between China and Tibet operating. These routes were essential for both the transmission of diplomatic missives and the transport of horses to the Chinese court.

The reason for Ch'eng–tsu's interest in Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan and 'Od–zer–nam–mkha' can be easily inferred from the circumstances surrounding their appointments as *wang*. As already noted, both figures were given their titles at the same time, on April 20, 1407. As it turns out, the date of the appointments coincides with the visit of the Fifth Karma–pa to the Ming court (February 1, 1407–May 17, 1408);[31] in fact, Karma–pa sources explicitly attribute the emperor's bestowal of the titles to the Fifth Karma–pa's influence.[32] Given Ch'eng–tsu's desire to keep the routes between China and Tibet open, this is not an unreasonable assumption, since the Karma–pa actually had good reason to recommend the two figures to the emperor as personages of authority. The evidence on this last point is provided by some of the few Tibetan materials so far encountered that mention the two clerics: Tibetan biographies of the Fifth Karma–pa which contain accounts of an extended tour that he (still a young child) and his entourage made of Khams and A–mdo from 1392 to 1394.[33] In recounting this trip the Si–tu Paṇ–chen, one of the Karma–pa's biographers, relates:

> The fierce *dpon–chen* of Gling [i.e., Gling–tshang][34] in the East, Rgyal–mtshan–pa, invited [the Karma–pa]. After vows of abstinence had been given to many beings, Bon–po and others, [who were] led by the *dpon–chen*, myriarchs and *daruγaci*, that is, the district lords who held offices, and [after] they were satisfied by means of the [different varieties of] *dharma* which each one himself esteemed, the *dpon–chen* of Go–'jo [i.e., Gon–gyo],[35] 'Od–zer–nam–mkha', invited [the Karma–pa], following which he came in the first part of the third month of the Dog year [i.e., between April 1 and April 15, 1394]. He gave many talks on [the stages of] generation and completion [as expounded in] the

> *Chos–drug* [of Nāropā], etc., which generate the excellent mind of enlightenment, the fruit of *karma*; after which everyone completely obtained full faith.[36]

Rgyal–mtshan–pa, the *dpon–chen* of Gling–tshang in this passage, is certainly Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan, the Gling–tshang hierarch of the Chinese sources. The identification of 'Od–zer–nam–mkha' is clear. It is of interest to note that the two clerics are mentioned in close proximity to each other in this passage, just as they are usually mentioned in the same entries in the *Ming shih–lu*. But of particular significance is the identification of both figures as *dpon–chen* ("great official") rather than as monastic hierarchs. The *dpon–chen* were the principal civil and military officials of the Sa–skya–pa sect in its administration of Tibet during the era of Mongol domination. It was the *dpon–chen*, in fact, who actually exercised the political power granted to the sect during that period.[37] While the *Ming–shih* describes both Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan and 'Od–zer–nam–mkha' as monks, the use of the term *dpon–chen* (which, like *daruγaci*, is a term more commonly associated with pre–Ming times)[38] indicates quite clearly that they were not ordinary monks. They were clerical rulers who presided over the regions of Gling–tshang and Gon–gyo, as the Sa–skya–pa once had done in Tibet. It is not surprising then that Ming Ch'eng–tsu sought their assistance in obtaining secure access to the routes leading from China to Central Tibet, and thus granted them the titles of *tsan–shan wang* and *hu–chiao wang* on the recommendation of the Fifth Karma–pa. The Karma–pa and members of his entourage, as we now know, were personally acquainted with their authority and abilities, having been guests of both clerics during an earlier trip through Khams.

Ch'eng–tsu's need for powerful Tibetan assistance in securing access to the routes between China and Central Tibet is demonstrated by an entry in the *Ming shih–lu* for March 29, 1415. The entry tells of a successful defense by Liu Chao, the vice commissioner (Ch. *tu chih–hui t'ung–chih*) of the Shensi Regional Military Commission,[39] against Tibetan raiders. According to the account, Liu Chao had been dispatched to Tibet as part of a delegation of seventy–seven envoys. On their return trip they were attacked by a band of Tibetans at the relay station at Gling–tshang, but managed to inflict casualties and drive them off. As a reward, Liu Chao was promoted to the post of regional military commissioner of Shensi and several other members of the delegation received similar promotions.[40]

As this incident shows, the routes that carried diplomatic and "tribute" missions between China and Tibet could be dangerous, even for official Ming embassies. In fact, one might argue on the basis of this incident that Ming Ch'eng–tsu's policies regarding safe access to the routes through Gling–tshang and Gon–gyo may not have been wholly successful. In any event, the court clearly had need of active cooperation from local Tibetan figures such as Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan and 'Od–zer–nam–mkha' if even a minimal

amount of security was to be maintained along them.[41] Ming Ch'eng–tsu's desire to keep these lines of communication open and functioning (expressed in the *shih–lu* entries for April 5, 1407 and January 25, 1414) is the essential background element that permits us to grasp the reasoning behind the establishment of ties between the Ming court and the two *dpon–chen*, and the court's grant of titles to them.

Thus, it is as figures of authority and influence in the regions traversed by the routes linking China and Central Tibet, that Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan and 'Od–zer–nam–mkha' ultimately came to receive particular attention from the court of Ming Ch'eng–tsu. They are, we should reiterate, the only figures among those Tibetans whom Ming Ch'eng–tsu designated as *wang* who were based outside of Central Tibet. Like the other *wang*, both Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan and 'Od–zer–nam–mkha' presented horses, a much appreciated item, to Ch'eng–tsu's court. But again, their authority, which was known beyond Gling–tshang and Gon–gyo (as shown by accounts of the Fifth Karma–pa's travels in Khams), added another aspect to the links established with them by Ch'eng–tsu; and this authority finally involved them, as *tsan–shan wang* and *hu–chiao wang*, in the emperor's strategy to secure the routes between Ming China and Tibet.

CHINESE CHARACTERS

A–wan	阿完
ch'an–hua wang	闡化王
ch'an–i	禪衣
Chang T'ing–yü	張廷玉
Ch'eng–hua	成化
Cheng–t'ung	正統
Chia–ching	嘉靖
chih–chin ts'ai–pi piao–li	織錦綵幣表裏
Chih–kuang	智光
chin–pi	金幣
Cho–ssu–pa–erh chien–tsang	著思巴兒監藏
chung–kuan	中官
fa–wang	法王
fang–wu	方物
Hou Hsien	侯顯
Hsüan–te	宣德
hu–chiao wang	護教王

Hung–chih 弘治

Hung–hsi 洪熙

i–chan 驛站

Kan–hsieh–erh chi–la–ssu–pa
tsang–pu 幹些兒吉剌思巴藏

kao–ch'ih 誥敕

Kuan–chiao 館覺

kuan–ting kuo–shih 灌頂國師

Lin–ts'ung 林葱

Ling–tsang 靈藏

Liu Chao 劉昭

Manji zoku Zōkyō 續藏經

Mindai Chibetto no hachi tai
kyō–ō ni tsuite 明代チベットの八大教王について

Mindai Man–Mō shiryō 明代滿蒙史料

Mindai Seizō shiryō 明代西藏史料

Ming Ch'eng–tsu 明成祖

Ming–ho 明河

Ming–shih 明史

Ming shih–lu 明實錄

Ming T'ai–tsu 明太祖

Nan–ko chien–ts'an pa tsang–pu 喃葛堅粲巴藏卜

Nan–ko chien–tsang 喃葛監藏

Nan–ko chien–tsang e–hsieh ling–chan chü 喃葛監藏阿屑領占俱

nei–chün 內郡

Pan–tan chien–ts'o 班丹監剉

pao–ch'ao 寶鈔

Pu–hsü kao–seng chuan 補續高僧傳

pu–i erh–tsu 不一而足

Satō Hisashi 佐藤長

So–nan wo–hsieh 鎖南斡屑

T'a–erh–pa chien–ts'an 塔兒把堅粲

Ta–ssu–pa–erh chien–tsang 荅思巴兒監藏

Tamura Jitsuzō 田村實造

To–kan hsing–tu chih–hui shih–ssu tu chih–hui shih 朶甘行都指揮使司都指揮使

t'ou–mu 頭目

ts'ai–pi 綵幣

ts'ai–pi hsi–i 綵幣襲衣

ts'ai–pi piao–li 綵幣表裏

tsan–shan chu–wang pu 贊善諸王不

tsan–shan wang 贊善王

tsan–shan wang teng 贊善王等

Tsung–pa Wo–chi nan–ko pa–tsang–pu 宗巴斡即南哥巴藏卜

tu chih–hui chien–shih 都指揮僉事

tu chih–hui shih 都指揮使

tu chih–hui t'ung–chih 都指揮同知

tu–ssu 都司

Tuan–chu chien–tsan 端竹堅昝

Tuan–chu tsang–pu 端竹藏卜

wang 王

Wo–hsieh–erh chi–la–ssu–pa tsang–pu 斡些兒吉剌思巴藏卜

Wu–ssu–tsang 烏斯藏

Yang San–pao 楊三保

Yung–lo 永樂

NOTES

1 See Satō 1964: 493–494, 497–498; Stein 1959: 211–213; Tucci 1941 iv: 83–84. Variant forms of the name Gon–gyo include Go'–'jo and Gon–'jo. It is generally transcribed in Chinese as Kuan–chiao. Gling–tshang is rendered into Chinese as Ling–tsang in Ming sources. As Stein (*op. cit.*: 211) notes, it has been transcribed in Chinese as Lin–ts'ung since the eighteenth century. After visiting both areas in 1918, while travelling through Khams, Eric Teichman (1922: 83) noted that Gling–tshang "consists of a number of farms and a large *Sajya* [i.e., Sa–skya (–pa)] monastery; the latter, a striking sight with all its buildings coloured with the usual red, white and black stripes.... [Gling–tshang] is the seat of the former Rajah of the Native State of that name...."

Of Gon–gyo, Teichman (*ibid.*: 176) remarked that it "consists of a Tibetan *Dzong* [i.e., *rdzong*] (fort and official residence), a small monastery, and a dilapidated sort of rest house.... It is the capital of the Tibetan province of Gonjo [i.e., Gon–gyo]..."

Concerning diverse references to Gling–tshang in Tibetan historical sources, see Stein *op. cit*: 211–240.

2 Chang T'ing–yü *et al.* 1974, ch. 331: 8582–8584. Cf. Stein 1959: 212.

3 Concerning the monk Chih–kuang, see Ming–ho 1968 cxxxiv, ch. 1: 27a–27b.

4 Although there is no official biographical entry concerning him in the *Ming–shih*, the eunuch Yang San–pao appears several times in that work, and in Ch'eng–tsu's *shih–lu*, as one of the emperor's principal envoys for missions to Tibet. See Chang *et al.* 1974, ch. 331: 8576, 8580, 8582, 8584, 8585 and 8586 (but on this last reference, cf. the note on p. 8596); and *Mindai Seizō shiryō* (hereafter MSS), in Tamura 1959 x: 62, 64 and 69.

5 Cf. MSS: 86. The *shih–lu* entry recording Hou Hsien's dispatch is for April 29, 1427. Concerning Hou Hsien, see Chang *et al.* 1974, ch. 304: 7768–7769.

6 Cf. the emperor's orders in this matter in the *shih–lu* entry for May 15, 1441, contained in MSS: 146.

7 On the terms *chin–pi* and *pao–ch'ao*, see Serruys 1967: 233, 238.

8 Cf. the record of the establishment of these regulations in the *shih–lu* entry for October 13, 1465, contained in MSS: 235–236.

9 Concerning the various patents used by the Ming court in its dealings with foreign peoples, see Franke 1942: 38–67.

10 The wording of both this passage and the *shih–lu* entry for August 23, 1467 (MSS: 245), which deals with the same issue, clearly implies that Thar–pa–rgyal–mtshan had sent an envoy to the Chinese court who was still there at the time of these deliberations. Thus, note that a *shih–lu* entry for February 8, 1467 (MSS: 242), records the arrival of an envoy from Gling–

tshang. Regarding Thar–pa–rgyal–mtshan and the Chinese transcription of his name, see Satō 1964: 496–497 and Stein 1959: 214.

11 This matter is described in the *shih–lu* entry for August 22, 1469 (MSS: 255–256). Note that the *Ming–shih* distorts the remarks issued from the Szechwan Regional Military Commission. While the *Ming–shih* has the remarks begin with "None of the *tsan–shan wang...*" (Ch. *tsan–shan chu–wang pu...*), the *shih–lu* entry, in the same context, refers to "the *tsan–shan wang* and others..." (Ch. *tsan–shan wang teng...*); i.e., the *Ming–shih* uses the character *chu* in a context in which *teng* (as used in the *Ming shih–lu*) provides for a clearer and more precise reading.

12 Cf. the record of the relevant memorial from the Ministry of Rites in the *shih–lu* entry for March 4, 1482, contained in MSS: 285.

13 This appointment is recorded in a *shih–lu* entry for September 16, 1482; see MSS: 287.

14 A *shih–lu* entry for October 17, 1503, records the arrival at court of a monk named Ngag–dbang (transcribed in Chinese as A–wan) who had come from Gling–tshang to request Don–grub–rgyal–po's appointment as *tsan–shan wang*. The same entry records the court's compliance with the request; see MSS: 330.

15 On *tsung–pa* as a transcription of the Tibetan *btsun–pa* , see Satō 1964: 497 and 503.

16 'Od–zer–grags–pa's death and his nephew's accession to his title are recorded in a *shih–lu* entry for June 28, 1415; see MSS: 65–66. Note that in this entry the nephew's name is properly transcribed into Chinese as Wo–hsieh–erh chi–la–ssu–pa tsang–pu, as opposed to Kan–hsieh–erh chi–la–ssu–pa tsang–pu, the transcription given in the *Ming–shih*.

17 Concerning this term, see Serruys 1967: 229–230.

18 The reconstruction of this name is taken from Satō 1964: 494. Don–grub–bzang–po is otherwise unidentified, but cf. the Don–grub–pa mentioned in note 22, below, as an envoy of 'Od–zer–nam–mkha'.

19 MSS: 54. The mission is said to have been led by one "Ta–ssu–pa–erh chien–tsang." Although the last part of this name undoubtedly transcribes the Tibetan "rgyal–mtshan," the first part lends itself to several possibilities that cannot be narrowed down at present. The members of the mission were given paper money, silver, and various kinds of silk garments by the court.

20 The appointment of Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan as *ch'an–hua wang* is recorded in a *shih–lu* entry for March 21, 1406; see MSS: 51. On Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan, see G.yas–ru Stag–tshang–pa 1979 ii: 174r–174v; Dalai Lama V 1981: 144–148; and Tucci 1971: 214–217. Cf. also Chang *et al.* 1974, ch. 331: 8579–8580.

21 MSS: 55. The headmen from Gling–tshang and Gon–gyo who were involved are identified in Chinese as Nan–ko chien–tsang e–hsieh ling–chan chü of Gon–gyo, and So–nan wo–hsieh of Gling–tshang. The Chinese transcriptions seem to be obvious renderings of Nam–mkha'–rgyal–mtshan–'od–zer–rin–chen–'grub and Bsod–nams–'od–zer, respectively. Note the variant

reading provided (*loc. cit.*) for the character *wo* in the second name. The Gon-gyo headman was appointed "regional military commissioner of the Mdo-Khams Branch Regional Military Commission" (Ch. To-kan hsing-tu chih-hui shih-ssu tu chih-hui shih), while the Gling-tshang headman was named one of the commission's assistant commissioners (Ch. *tu chuh-hui chien-shih*). Regarding the positions and titles established by the early Ming for Mdo-khams, see Chang *et al.* 1974, ch. 331: 8587–8588.

22 MSS: 57. This embassy is said to have been led by a follower of 'Od-zer-nam-mkha' named "Don-grub-pa" (Ch. Tuan-chu-pa; cf. the Don-grub-bzang-po mentioned in MSS: 51, and referred to in note 18, above) and others, and to have presented the court with "local products" (Ch. *fang-wu*). The court bestowed silver, paper money, lined garments in varicolored silk (Ch. *ts'ai-pi piao-li*; on this term, cf. Serruys 1967: 229–230), and tea on Don-grub-pa, and paper money, silks and tea on the others.

23 MSS: 62–63. This mission presented local products, and was given damask brocades and varicolored silks (Ch. *ts'ai-pi*).

24 MSS: 66. This mission also included envoys from Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and Rin-chen-dpal-gyi-rgyal-mtshan of the 'Bri-gung-pa, and brought horses and local products from each cleric to the court. The court reciprocated with presentations of paper money, silks and other items.

25 MSS: 69–70. This mission was dispatched to Chos-dpal-rgyal-mtshan and various other hierarchs to reciprocate their various tribute missions. The Ming envoys carried "Buddhist images, ritual implements, monks' robes, meditation garments [Ch. *ch'an-i*], and lined garments in varicolored silk broacades [Ch. *chih-chin ts'ai-pi piao-li*]."

26 MSS: 70 and 70–71. Note that in both entries Chos-dpal-rgyal-mtshan is erroneously referred to as the *tsan-shan wang* Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po.

27 Concerning the life of the Fifth Karma-pa De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (1384–1415), see Chandra 1961: 510–528; Roerich 1976: 506–510; Si-tu Paṇ-chen 1972 i: 219r–239r; and Sman-sdong Mtshams-pa Rin-po-che 1975–1976 ii: 100r–115v.

28 Regarding the life of Kun-dga'-bkra-shis (1349/1350–1425), see G.yas-ru Stag-tshang-pa 1979 ii: 29v–30v; and 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs 1975: 202v–217r.

29 Concerning the life of Shakya-ye-shes (1354–1435), see Cha-har Dge-bshes 1971 *kha*, *ta*: 12v–18r; 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa 1971 *kha*: 35r–40v; and Tshe-mchog-gling yongs-'dzin 1970: 420r–425r.

30 See Sperling 1983: 344–345. We may note too that in the course of an audience with Timurid envoys in December, 1420, Ming Ch'eng-tsu expressed a clear interest in obtaining good horses from Central Asia; see Fletcher 1968: 215.

31 Concerning this visit, see Schuh 1976: 209–244; and Sperling 1980: 280–289.

32 See Chandra 1961: 524–525; and Si-tu Paṇ-chen 1972 i: 236r.

[33] Regarding this trip, see Chandra 1961 i: 517; Si–tu Paṇ–chen i: 225v–226v.

[34] Concerning the identification of Gling with Gling–tshang, see Stein 1959: 211.

[35] For variant forms of the name Gon–gyo, see note 1, above.

[36] Si–tu Paṇ–chen 1972, i: 226r: *shar kha'i gling gi dpon chen khro bo rgyal mtshan pas gdan drangs dpon chen/ khri dpon/ da ra kha che ste las ka 'dzin pa'i sde bdag rnams kyis thog drangs bon po la sogs pa'i skye bo du ma la/ bsnyen gnas la sogs pa'i sdom pa gnang zhing rang rang gi mos pa'i chos kyis tshim par mdzad nas/ go 'jo'i dpon chen 'od zer nam mkha' pas gdan drangs nas khyi lo zla ba gsum pa'i yar tshes la pheb ste/ las rgyu 'bras byang chub mchog tu sems bskyed pa/ chos drug la sogs bskyed rdzogs du ma gsungs nas thams cad mi phyed pa'i dad pa rab tu thob bo/*

Cf. Chandra 1961: 517, which gives a more cursory account of the Karma–pa's visit to the two areas. Dpa'–bo names the Gon–gyo *dpon–chen* as Nam–mkha'–'od–zer, and refers to Chos–dpal–rgyal–mtshan only as "the fierce official in the East, Rgyal" (*shar–kha'i dpon khro–bo rgyal*). Cf. too, Chandra 1961: *loc. cit.*, and Roerich 1976: 507, which refer to actions by the Karma–pa in 1401/1402 undertaken to quell military strife in Gon–gyo. Roerich also names 'Od–zer–nam–mkha' as the *dpon–chen* of "Kon–gyo" and mentions a further visit by the Karma–pa to Gling–tshang at this time.

[37] Regarding the *dpon–chen*, see Tucci 1949: 33–34.

[38] The *daruγaci*, as described by Farquhar 1981: 43–44, were "the Agents..., the representitives of the Mongol imperial power, found not only at the circuit, but at all levels of government, wherever populations were directly administered and exploited." Concerning the survival of Yüan–era titles into Ming times, we must note that the first Ming emperor, Ming T'ai-tsu (r. 1368–1398), actively sought to reconfirm Tibetans in the titles and positions they had held under the Mongols; see Chang *et al.* 1974, ch. 331: 8572 and 8587–8588.

[39] Concerning Liu Chao, see the brief biography of him in Chang *et al.* 1974, ch. 174: 4632–4633.

[40] MSS: 65. According to Chang *et al.* 1974, ch. 174: 4632, Liu Chao and the others had been sent to establish relay stations. This must certainly be connected with the orders of January 25, 1414, concerning the reestablishment of those stations.

[41] Note, in this regard, the instance of military troubles referred to in Note 36, above.

A TRANSLATION OF CHAPTER SIXTEEN, "EXAMINATION OF BONDAGE AND LIBERATION," FROM TSONG-KHA-PA'S *RIGS PA'I RGYA MTSHO*

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Introductory Note

Tsong-kha-pa's *Rigs pa'i rgya mtsho* ("Ocean of Reasoning") is described in its full title as a detailed commentary (*rnam-bshad*) on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikāḥ* (MMK). It incorporates much of the Tibetan translation of Candrakīrti's commentary on the MMK, the *Prasannapadā*, either literally or in condensed paraphrase. Thus it is, in fact if not in name, almost a subcommentary on the *Prasannapadā*.[1]

Tsong-kha-pa does not quote Nāgārjuna's verses in his commentary, but I have added them here at the appropriate places. I have put Nāgārjuna's verses in a different typeface and italicized those portions of the commentary which are either quotations from or close paraphrases of the *Prasannapadā*. In the remainder, Tsong-kha-pa has either extensively rephrased the arguments of the *Prasannapadā* or added new material. Tsong-kha-pa provides an outline of the chapter, which I have put into a Western outline format.

The numbers in curly brackets refer to the (Arabic) page and line numbers of the reprinted Bkra-shis-lhun-po edition: Tshong-kha-pa 1975.

Translation

{334-1} I. Explanation of the text of the chapter [2]

A. Refutation of samsara and nirvana [as] established by intrinsic nature[3]

1. Refutation of samsara [as] established by intrinsic nature

Objection: Entities exist by instrinsic nature because samsara exists by intrinsic nature. *Going from [one] state of existence* ('gro-ba, gati) *to another state of existence is called "samsara"; but if entities do not exist by intrinsic nature, then who would be reborn* ('khor, saṁsarati) *from a former state of existence to a later state of existence? [It would be] like [the rebirth of] a childless woman's son.*

Answer:

a. Refutation of the samsara of the object of appropriation, the aggregates[4]

i. Refutation of the samsara of permanent [samskaras]

If the samskaras[5] are reborn, those [if] permanent are not reborn
And [if] impermament, they are not reborn. the same procedure also [applies] in the case of a being. [16-1]

If samsara exists by intrinsic nature, one of two [possibilities], the aggregates or a being, must be reborn. Then *if it is said that the samskaras*, that is, the aggregates, *are reborn, it is also certain that they are either permanent or impermanent. If they are permament, they are not reborn. [This is so] because they are without the activity* of going and coming and because, if they do not come from a former state of existence and go to a later state of existence, it is contrary to [their being] one who is reborn (*'khor-ba-po, saṁsartṛ*).

ii. Refutation of the samsara of impermanent [samskaras]

If one says that impermanent samskaras are reborn, [then] even if they are impermanent, they would not exist by intrinsic character as one who is reborn. *[This is so] because the impermanent* {335–1} *ceases as soon as it has arisen* and things which have ceased are not reborn again.

Objection: Impermanent [samskaras], having an unbroken series [due to] the succession of causes and effects, are indeed reborn.

Answer: In this case, [there are] two [possibilities]: Without distinguishing former and later moments, the series (*rgyun, saṁtāna*) which connects the former and later is reborn; or the individual moments, former and later, are reborn. If [we] refute the latter [possibility], the separate former and later [moments] are refuted first.

The later moment of the result, which will arise, cannot be one who is reborn *because it has not come from any former state of existence and will not go to any later state of existence* and because those two actions are necessary for one who is reborn. *The former [moment of the cause], which has ceased, also is not reborn, because it has not come from any former state of existence and will not go to any later one. Apart from just the* former *samskaras*, which have ceased, and the later ones, which have not [yet] arisen, *past and future* samskaras *do not exist*; and even those two, *due to the very [fact of being] ceased and unarisen, do not exist* as one who is reborn. Therefore, the past and future samskaras do not exist as one who is reborn.

Objection: Those two [individually] are not reborn; but *when the later moment has arisen, the former is reborn.* Thus in relation to both the former and later [moments] of the samskaras, one posits one who is reborn.

Answer: The former and later moments are conceived of as either the same or different by intrinsic nature. The first [alternative] is not possible, *because they are cause and effect and former and later* and because the times of the former, which has ceased, and the later, when it has arisen, are different.

Even according to the second conception, it is not possible that when the later moment has arisen, {336–1} the former is reborn, because the two are different by intrinsic nature. [This reason] is not inconclusive. If it were otherwise, *the Arhats would also be reborn because ordinary persons are*

born in samsara; and when another lamp burns, an extinguished lamp would burn, too. [This is so] because in regard to being similar to another unrelated thing,[6] the former moment is reborn due to the arising of the later moment; and there is no reason not to hold likewise in regard to the other two [cases, i. e., the Arhat reborn in samsara because of the rebirth of some other person and the extinguished lamp which burns when another lamp is lit].

Besides, if the later moment arises from the former, *does it arise from a former [moment] which has ceased or which has not ceased or which is ceasing? If it arises from one which has ceased, a sprout would arise even from a burnt seed; thus it would be without cause.* It has been explained before that this system[7] accepts what has ceased as an entity (*dngos–po, bhāva*), but it does not accept that the later [moment] arises from a former moment which has ceased. Therefore [Candrakīrti] refutes in that way.

If it arises from a former moment which has not ceased, the sprout would arise without the seed being transformed; and cause and effect would be simultaneous. Conventionally, the former [moment] which has not ceased is accepted as the immediate cause (*dngos rgyu, sākṣātkāraṇa*) of the later [moment]; but here arising by intrinsic characteristic (*rang–gi mtshan–nyid, svalakṣaṇa*) is refuted; and as explained before, those faults apply to that.

If it arises from [a former moment] which is ceasing, a that–which–is–ceasing which is neither of the two, ceased or not ceased, does not exist; and the faults in those two have been stated.

Thus the doctrine that [either] the individuality of the differentiated former and later moments or both taken together is the one who is reborn is refuted. Also, for former and later moments the existence by intrinsic character of sameness and difference and of the later's arising from the former have been refuted. *Therefore former and later moments and cause and effect* established by intrinsic character {337–1} *cannot be posited. Thus the series* which depends on those *also does not exist; therefore samsara does not exist* by intrinsic character in the series, either.

All those of other groups [i.e., non–Buddhists] who accept one who is reborn who is continuous from one state of existence to another maintain that a person (*gang–zag, pudgala*), different in intrinsic character from the aggregates and existing as a real substance (*rdzas, dravya*), is reborn. Therefore those who say that the samskaras or the aggregates are reborn are our own group [i.e., Buddhists]. Moreover [the Buddhists], for the most part, take consciousness to be the ground for positing a person. Thus [they] maintain that [a] consciousness, such as the *ālaya*,[8] is reborn and also say that in just that [sense], a person is reborn. [Therefore] they accept that just the series of undifferentiated former and later moments is reborn.

b. Refutation of the samsara of the appropriator, a being

i. Refutation of the samsara of a being different in intrinsic character from the aggregates

Objection: It is true that the samskaras are not reborn, because that conflicts with reasoning. The self (bdag, ātman), *however*, different in intrinsic character from the aggregates [and] existing as a real substance, *is reborn.*

Answer: All these steps of [the reasoning showing] that it is not possible that the samskaras are reborn are also the same for the samsara of such *a being* (sems-can, *sattva).* Thus it is not possible. If [the being] is permanent, it does not perform the actions of going and coming; thus a permanent [being] is not reborn. For an impermanent being, also, through the examination of the moments and the series, samsara is not possible.

ii. Refutation of the samsara of a person indescribable as the same as or different from the aggregates

The Sāṁmitīyas[9] say, *"It is not right to say that the examination [showing] that it is not possible for permanent or impermanent samskaras to be reborn is the same for a being. The self is indescribable as the same as or different from the aggregates.* {338–1} *Likewise the* person, *who cannot be described in any way as permanent or impermanent, is reborn."*

Answer:

If a person is reborn, when [he] is searched for among the aggregates, āyatanas, and dhātus[10]

In five ways, that [person] does not exist. who [then] will be reborn? [16–2]

If that person who is reborn exists by intrinsic character, that person must be found *when [he] is sought for in* the previously explained *five ways*, sameness, difference, etc.,[11] *among the aggregates,* āyatanas, *and* dhātus. *Therefore, if he is not found, what self*, existing by intrinsic character, *will be reborn?* That is, no [such self] will.

[The self,] being reborn from appropriation (*nye-bar len-pa, upādāna*)[12] appropriation, would be without samsaric existence (*srid-pa, bhava*).

And without samsaric existence, without an appropriation, what is it? where (*ci-zhig, kim*) will it be reborn? [16–3]

Moreover, in this case, when [he] is reborn from the appropriation of a human to the appropriation of a god, does the going, which exists by intrinsic nature, [take place] after [he] has abandoned the human's appropriation or without [his] abandoning [it]? According to the first [alternative], *between those two* former and later [appropriations], *[he] would be without samsaric*

existence, [that is,] the five aggregates of appropriation. [This is so] because there would be a time when *after abandoning the former appropriation, the later has not [yet] been appropriated.* [This, in turn, is so] because if [he is] established by intrinsic nature, two simultaneous actions of abandoning the former and appropriating the later are not possible. *If*, between those two, *there is no samsaric existence and no aggregates of appropriation, the cause for using the conventional designation* "self" *does not exist. Thus what is that* person? That is, *[he] is not anything.*

If that [person] does not exist, the person [who is] the appropriator of the future [aggregates of a] god also does not exist. Therefore in what (ci-zhig-tu) *would [he] be reborn? That is, even that in which [he] would be reborn does not exist. Alternatively, because the appropriator does not exist, how* (ci-zhig) *will he perform the action of being reborn? Thus the word* ci-zhig *is construed [in this case] as a modifier of the action, being reborn.*[13]

Even according to the second alternative, *[rebirth] is not possible, because* the samsaric existence of *the later* birth *is appropriated while the* samsaric existence of the *former* birth *has not been abandoned. Therefore one self would become the two selves* of the god and the human; {339-1} *but that is also not accepted.*

Objection: Between the two samsaric existences of the human and the god, *the intermediate state* (bar-srid; antarābhava) of the god *occurs. Thus* a self *without samsaric existence will not occur.*

Answer: That, too, is not possible because the previous examination of whether one is reborn after abandoning the former samsaric existence or not is also the same for being reborn from the samsaric existence of a human to the god's intermediate state.

Objection: Since the two, abandoning the samsaric existence of the human *and appropriating* the god's intermediate state, *are simultaneous*, the two, the former which is abandoned and the later which is appropriated, are also simultaneous. *Therefore, there is no fault* of a self without an appropriation existing in the interval between those two.

Answer: Do [you] suppose that *one part of the self abandons the former appropriation and another part goes to the intermediate state? Or does the whole self,* not existing as such separate parts, abandon the former and appropriate the later? *As to that, according to the first [alternative], two selves would then exist,* which [respectively] abandon the samsaric existence of the human and appropriate the samsaric existence of the god.

Also, according to the second [alternative], between the two there would be a self without samsaric existence. There is just this much difference from the former [case], that when [the self] goes to the intermediate state, because [that state] is very near, it would be without an appropriation for [only] a short time.

Here the argument [showing why] the opponent must admit that there would be a self without aggregates between the two samsaric existences, former and later, is as follows: *The two actions of abandoning and appropriating* — which are dependent on the object of the action [of which object it is said,] "this is abandoned and appropriated" — depend on *separate objects*, the aggregates of the former and later times. Then the actions, also dependent on the agent [of whom it is said,] "this one abandons and appropriates," {340–1} *are not possible for one entity at the same time.* [This is so] because if those two actions were simultaneous, the bases of the actions, the two [sets of] aggregates of the human and intermediate state, also would be simultaneous. [This, in turn, is so] because if it is established by intrinsic nature, that which is dependent is invariably [joined with] its basis at all times.[14]

Likewise, if the two actions of abandoning and appropriating are chronologically former and later, the two samsaric existences, the former which has been abandoned and the later which has been appropriated, also will be former and later. Therefore in that time after abandoning the former when the later has not [yet] been appropriated, there would be a self without samsaric existence.[15]

2. Refutation of nirvana [as] established by intrinsic nature

Objection: Samsara exists by intrinsic nature, *because [its] opposite, nirvana, exists* by intrinsic nature.

Answer:

Nirvana of the samskaras is not possible in any way.
Nirvana of a being, also, is not possible in any way. [16–4]

Any agent who enters nirvana must also be [one of] two [alternatives]. In particular, it is not possible in any way, that is, in any manner that samskaras or aggregates which enter nirvana exist by intrinsic nature. In addition, it is also not possible in any way that a being who enters nirvana exists by intrinsic nature, [whether he is conceived of as] a real substance different from the aggregates or [as] a person indescribable as the same as or different from [the aggregates]. The reasons for those [statements are given by] changing the wording [of the first three verses]: "Those [if] permanent, do not enter nirvana," etc.

In that connection, if an agent who is reborn, either the aggregates or a person, established as real (*bden-pa*, *satya*), is not refuted, it will also not be refuted that their being reborn in samsara is established as real. If an agent who is reborn and is established as real is refuted, an agent who enters or attains nirvana and is established as real is also refuted. If so, a real attaining of the object to be attained by the attainer is refuted; and therefore the truth (*bden-pa*, *satya*) that these are objects to be attained is also {341–1} refuted.[16] Then a nirvana or *dharmakāya*[17] which is established as real is also necessarily refuted. [This is so] because the pervader [i. e., a

real object to be attained] is refuted, since if those [i. e., the *dharmakāya* and nirvana] were established as real, the object to be attained would necessarily be established as real.

Through the essential point of knowing these ways of reasoning, even those of our own group in the noble country [i. e., Indian Buddhists] who maintain the existence of entities do not differentiate between samsara and nirvana in regard to [their] being established as real or not established as real. The disputants of this region [Tibet] who do not know the way of reasoning, however, do distinguish between them [saying that nirvana is established as real while samsara is not].

Thus *in the blessed (Prajñāpāramitā), [the following] is said,* with the meaning that even nirvana is not established as existing by its own intrinsic character:

> *"Even nirvana, Venerable Subhuti, is like a magical illusion, like a dream. Venerable Subhuti, even the dharmas of a Buddha are like magical illusions, like dreams.... If, son of good family, there were another dharma even more excellent than nirvana, that, too, I would call 'like an illusion, like a dream.'"*[18]

Also, from the Samādhirāja (Sūtra):

> *Ultimate reality* (don-dam, paramārtha) *is like a dream; nirvana is equal to a dream.*
> *That by which the wise thus comprehend is called the best restraint of mind.*
>
> [Samādhirāja 38–91]

and

> *The truth of Cessation is like a dream; even nirvana has the intrinsic nature of a dream.*
> *Where the bodhisattva engages in [such] speech, that is called the restraint of speech.*
>
> [Samādhirāja 38–70]

The sense is [as follows]: If one attends to the meaning of absence of intrinsic nature, [that] is the restraint of mind; and if one expresses it in speech, [this] is explained as the best restraint of speech. [It is] "restraint" (*sdom-pa*, *saṁvara*) because of restraining what is to be abandoned and because through it, all faults {342-1} are uprooted.

B. Refutation of bondage and liberation [as] established by intrinsic nature

1. Joint refutation of bondage and liberation [as] existing by intrinsic nature

Objection: You have refuted both samsara and nirvana. Nevertheless, since bondage and liberation exist by intrinsic nature, *entities exist by intrinsic nature.*

Answer:

> The samskaras, which have the property of arising and ceasing,
> are not being bound, are not being liberated.
>
> As before, a being is not being bound, is not being liberated.
> [16–5]

Here it is posited that the afflictions (nyon–mongs–pa, kleśa), *desire, etc., are the bond because they make the one to be bound unfree; and ordinary persons bound by them do not pass beyond the triple realm [of samsara].* Then it is easy [to see] that *bondage, conceived of [as] the bond, desire, etc.,* is not possible for something permanent. Thus *to begin with, the momentary samskaras, which have the property of arising and ceasing, are not being bound;* that is, they do not have a bond by intrinsic character. As before, it is not possible for the series or the individual moments. Becoming liberated also does not exist for them by intrinsic character; the reason is as before.

According to the preceding method of *explaining why bondage and liberation are not possible for the samskaras, a being, also, is not being bound and is not being liberated.* Alternatively, [it is explained] according to the method which states that [neither] the permanent nor the impermanent are reborn or enter nirvana.

2. Refutation separately [of bondage and liberation as existing by intrinsic nature]

   a. Refutation of bondage [as] existing by intrinsic nature

Objection: Bondage and liberation have been refuted for the samskaras and for a being. Nevertheless, the appropriation, desire, etc., which is the bond, exists. Therefore bondage also exists by intrinsic nature.

Answer:

> If the appropriation is a bond, one who has an appropriation
> is not being bound.
>
> One without an appropriation is not being bound. then having
> what condition is one being bound? [16–6]

If the appropriation exists by intrinsic character as the means of binding, {343–1} it does not escape two [alternatives]. In particular, *one who has* a bond which is the *appropriation*, desire, etc., *is not being bound;* that is, he does not have a bond by intrinsic nature. [This is so] because if he had, he would have to have another use [for] a means of binding again; but *a bond again is useless.*

If the one to be bound and the means of binding are established by intrinsic nature, the action of binding, "this is bound," and the action of binding, "this binds," must be made into two different real substances. Thus one who is already bound would have to be bound again.[19] It is like the reasoning explained in the eighth chapter [of the MMK].

Also, *one without an appropriation is not being bound, because he is without a bond,* like the Tathāgata. Thus *in what condition is one being bound?* That is, one is not being [bound].

> Granted that the bond would bind, if it could exist before the one bound;
>
> But it does not. the remainder has been stated [in chapter two of the MMK] by means of that which is being traversed, the traversed, and the untraversed. [16–7]

Moreover, *a previously existing means of binding, such as an iron chain, binds the one to be bound. Likewise, if the bond, desire, etc., were established prior to the one to be bound, [we] grant that that would bind the samskaras or a person; but that [bond] does not exist. [This is so] because desire, etc., are not established since [their] basis* [i. e., the one bound] *does not [yet] exist and because if the bond were established previously, a later connection with the one to be bound would be unnecessary and because the one to be bound, established* by intrinsic character *as different from the means of binding, would have no need of a bond again.*

The remaining refutation of this is to be shown by changing the wording of the refutation of *the traversed, the untraversed, and that which is being traversed. That is, it should be supplied [in the form,] "To begin with, the bound is not being bound," and so on.*

b. Refutation of liberation [as] existing by intrinsic nature

Objection: You {344–1} *have refuted the bond; nevertheless, liberation exists; because there is no liberation for one who is not bound, bondage also exists.*

Answer:

> In the first place, the bound is not being liberated. indeed, the unbound is not being liberated.
>
> If the bound were being liberated, there would be simultaneous bondage and liberating. [16–8]

If liberation exists by intrinsic nature, who has it? To begin with, *one who is bound is not being liberated* — that is, liberation does not exist [for him] by intrinsic nature — *because he is bound.*

Objection: Because one previously *bound will later be liberated, after relying on* practicing the path as *means, liberation exists* by intrinsic nature *for the very one who is bound.*

Answer: Then it would not be said that the one who is bound is being liberated, but only *that the one who is bound will be liberated.*

Objection: One bound at a previous time will be liberated at a later time. *Because [this later] time is close to the present, it is stated in that way* [i. e., in the present tense].

Answer: We grant that *if liberation existed* by intrinsic character, *proximity to it would exist.* [Nāgārjuna,] however, having refuted bondage, *wishes to show that liberation does not exist* by intrinsic character. Then there is no time near to the present when liberation exists by intrinsic character.

Furthermore, *even* for a person who is *not bound by the afflictions*, liberation would not exist by intrinsic character. *If that one is already liberated, why would [he] need to be liberated again? [If this were the case,] even the Arhats, who have been liberated, would have a bond because they would require re-liberation; thus they would be bound.*

If one asks, "How does this reasoning [go]?" [we answer:] Both the one who is liberated and liberation, nirvana, must be posited as liberated from samsara. But if the two of them are established by [their own] intrinsic characteristics, [they] cannot be posited through one action of liberation. Thus they must [be posited] separately. But then there is no second action, different from the action due to the possession of which [someone] is posited as one who is liberated. Therefore it is not correct to say that one who is liberated is being liberated.[20] {345–1} But if a second action did exist, one would require liberation again after having been liberated [already]. Therefore even the Arhats would need re-liberation.

Objection: Because there is no liberation for one who is not bound, one who is bound is being liberated.

Answer: If one who is bound is established by intrinsic character as *one who is being liberated,* the one bound and the one being liberated would have to be the same locus (*gzhi-mthun, sāmanādhikaraṇa*). Therefore *bondage and liberation would be simultaneous; but that is not possible, as with light and darkness.* This is similar to the previous explanation[21] that if that which is arising exists by intrinsic character, that which is to arise[22] exists at the same time.

C. Rejecting the undesired consequence (*thal-ba, prasaṅga*) that undertakings for the sake of nirvana are useless.

Objection: If nirvana and samsara and even bondage and liberation do not exist by intrinsic character, it would be useless for those desiring liberation

to think, "When will I enter nirvana with no appropriation?" and "When will nirvana be mine?" Their method [of practice], giving, moral conduct, hearing, reflecting, meditating, etc., which has the attainment of nirvana as its purpose, would also be useless.

Answer:

> "I will enter nirvana with no appropriation. nirvana will be mine."
>
> Those who grasp thus, have a great grasping of an appropriation. [16–9]

Having produced the view that "I" and "mine" exist by intrinsic character *in all entities, which are [in fact] without intrinsic nature like reflections and empty of a self and what belongs to a self existing by intrinsic character, [they think,] "I will enter nirvana with no appropriation of samsaric existence again. Nirvana will be mine." That grasping of those who, desiring liberation, grasp in that way is [itself] a great appropriation, that is, the view of a real self* ('jig–tshogs–la lta–ba, satkāyadṛṣṭi). *[As long as] such grasping is not abandoned, so long will undertakings for the sake of liberation be useless.*

{346–1} All such conceptions apprehending nirvana are not the view of a real self; but if one grasps, thinking "When will I, existing by intrinsic character, attain nirvana?" and "When will nirvana belong to that 'I' of such a kind?" that is the view of a real self. Thus it is stated that that itself obstructs the attainment of nirvana. Because it is stated that those who desire liberation from samsara must abandon that, it is taught that the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas also have the realization of the absence of intrinsic nature in persons and dharmas.[23]

Therefore those who desire liberation should abandon all that which was explained before, because:

> Where there is no setting up [*bskyed–pa, samāropa*] of nirvana, no removing of samsara,
>
> There what samsara, what nirvana is imagined? [16–10]

In ultimate reality, there is no setting up, that is, no imputation (sgro–btags–pa, adhyāropa] *of nirvana; and there is also no removal, that is, no end of samsara. What, in that [ultimate reality], is the samsara,* established by intrinsic character, *which is imagined in order to be destroyed? And what is the nirvana,* established by intrinsic character, *which is imagined in order to be attained,* supposed to be?

Alternatively, no samsara and nirvana, established by intrinsic character, *are apprehended. Therefore, in nirvana, any being's removal, that is, leading*

away, from samsara and raising into nirvana cannot be performed, even with effort. In that [nirvana], what nirvana is imagined? That is, it is not [logically] possible to imagine [any]. One not imagining, having so realized, will surely pass beyond the jungle of samsara and arrive at the city of liberation.

II. Connection with scripture of direct meaning

It has thus been shown by reasoning that nirvana and samsara and bondage and liberation are without intrinsic nature. In order to show that the same [teaching] also possesses profound scripture and in order to show that all [scriptural] statements such as "form is not bound, not liberated" {347–1} are to be explained by this chapter, [we] will relate just a part of the connection with scripture of direct meaning. *In the Māradamana Sūtra*[24] *it is said:*

> *Then at that time Mañjuśrī who is always young focused his attention in such a form that Māra the Evil One plunged to the surface of the earth as if bound by a threshold-slab as bond and cried out, "I am bound by a strong bond! I am bound by a strong bond!"*
>
> *Mañjuśrī said, "There is, Evil One, another bond, stronger than this bond, by which you are always bound; you are not bound now for the first time. What is that [stronger bond]? The bond of error and the conceit 'I am'* (asmimāna) *the bond of craving and views. This, Evil One, is a bond. No stronger bond than this bond is found. By it you are always bound; you are not bound now for the first time."*
>
> *Moreover,* [Suyāma said,] *"Evil One, would you be delighted if you were liberated once more?"*
>
> *[Māra] said, "I would be delighted."*
>
> *Then the god Suyāma said this to Mañjuśrī who is [always] young: "Mañjuśrī, release Māra the Evil One. Let him go to his own home."*
>
> *Then Mañjuśrī who is [always] young said this to Māra the Evil One: "By whom, Evil One, are you bound, so that you may release yourself?"*
>
> *[Māra] said, "Mañjuśrī, I do not know by whom I am bound."*
>
> {348–1} *[Mañjuśrī] said, "As you, Evil One, being unbound, have the notion [that you are] bound, just so all foolish ordinary people have the notion of permanence in regard to the impermanent, have the notion of happiness in regard to suffering, have the notion of self in regard to nonself, have the notion of purity in regard to the impure. They have the notions of form, feeling, perception/conception, mental formations, and consciousness in regard to nonform, nonfeeling, nonperception/conception, non-*

formations, and nonconsciousness [respectively]. But again, Evil One, if you will be liberated, from what will you be liberated?"

[Māra] said, "I will not be liberated from anything."

[Mañjuśrī] said, "Just so, Evil One, those who will be liberated will also not be liberated from anything, except that they thoroughly understand that which is a false conception. Having thoroughly understood it, they are called 'liberated'."

From this scripture, the mere breaking of the creeper of mistaken mental construction, like the extinguishing of a burning flame by water in a dream, is called "liberation."

III. Summary of the meaning and indication of the title

Having realized that it is not at all possible for rebirth in samsara, nirvana, the being bound by afflictions, and liberation in which that [bondage] is broken to exist by their own intrinsic character, one should not grasp those as real (*bden-pa*). And one should make firm [one's] certainty about profound dependent origination [in which] all those are quite possible [because they are] just posited by virtue of conventional names.

[This concludes the] detailed commentary on the sixteenth chapter, called "Examination of Bondage and Liberation," {349–1} consisting of ten verses.

NOTES

1 Tsong-kha-pa (1357–1419) wrote the *Rigs pa'i rgya mtsho* in 1407–1408, a period during which he also composed his *Legs bshad snying po*. For more information on the life and works of Tsong-kha-pa, see Kaschewsky 1971; Wayman 1978: 15–25; Thurman 1981 and 1984: 65–89.

2 Tsong-kha-pa begins on 333–6 by saying, "Third, in refuting the existence by intrinsic nature of bondage and liberation, there are two [points], the refutation of the thing itself and of what brings it about." The first is covered in this chapter; the second, the refutation of karma and its result, is dealt with in chapter seventeen.

3 "Intrinsic nature" translates *rang-bzhin*. "Intrinsic character" translates *ngo-bo-nyid* or *ngo-bo*. As far as I can tell, Tsong-kha-pa uses these terms interchangeably.

4 The five aggregates (*phung-po*, *skandha*) are material form (*rūpa*), feeling (*vedanā*), perception/conception (*saṁjñā*), mental formations (*saṁskārāḥ*), and consciousness (*vijñāna*). See the following note.

5 The term "samskaras" ("formations," Sanskrit *saṁskārāḥ*) here refers not only to the fourth aggregate but to conditioned dharmas (*saṁskṛtādharmāḥ*) in general. What is conventionally called a "being" or a "person" is made up of such dharmas. These dharmas are grouped into the five "aggregates" (*skandhas*) mentioned in the preceding note. Since there seems to be no satisfactory English equivalent for *saṁskārā* in its various senses (note also its use as the second member of the twelvefold dependent origination), I have chosen to translate it by coining a new English word, "samskara." In the same way, usage has already created the English words "nirvana" and "samsara" corresponding to Sanskrit *nirvāṇa* and *saṁsāra*.

6 *'brel med don gzhan du mtshungs pa la*, 336–2. The syntax of this phrase is not quite clear. Also, the following clause can be translated more literally, though less clearly, as "one of the two moments, former and later, wanders in samsara due to the arising of the other."

7 Apparently the Sarvāstivādins.

8 According to the Yogācāra school of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the *ālaya*-consciousness, the "receptacle–" or "abode–consciousness," carries the seeds of past actions from one life to the next.

9 The Sāṁmitīyas were one of those Hīnayāna schools, known collectively as Pudgalavādins, which taught the doctrine of a person (*pudgala*).

10 The twelve *āyatanas* ("bases") are the six sense organs (the five physical sense organs plus the mind) and the corresponding six sense objects. The eighteen *dhātus* ("elements") are the twelve *āyatanas* plus the six corresponding sense consciousnesses.

11 The five ways refer to five possible relations between two things, A and B: sameness; difference; A possessing B; A existing in B; B existing in A. See MMK 10–14, 15ab.

12 Here "appropriation" means "the five aggregates of appropriation." In other words, the five aggregates are physical and mental phenomena; but when they are assumed to belong to an enduring, unitary self, they are said to be appropriated by the (in fact, illusory) self. Thus the five aggregates are called the "appropriation," and the self is called the "appropriator." See the commentary on MMK 10–15.

13 *ci-zhig* translates Sanskrit *kim*. These two alternate interpretations are identical with those found in the *Prasannapadā*.

14 *brten pa rten la...mi 'khrul ba'i phyir ro*, 340–1,2. *mi 'khrul ba* is used to translate *avyabhicārin*. Here the action is considered to be dependent (*brten-pa*) on its object, in this case the aggregates, which are thus the action's basis (*rten*).

15 The core of Tsong-kha-pa's argument is that, if they are established by intrinsic nature, action, agent, and object of the action must be invariably concomitant. The objects of the two actions of abandoning and appropriating are the aggregates of this life and the next life. Since these cannot be simultaneous, neither are the two actions.

16 The Bkra-shis-lhun-po edition (341–1) has *leg-so*, "is good." The Peking edition (298a–7) has, semi-legibly, *khegs-so*, "is refuted," as does the edition published at Sarnath in 1973 [p. 290, 11. 13–14]. The latter reading fits the context.

17 Literally, "dharma-body" of the Buddha. The theory of the various "bodies" of the Buddha has a long and complex history. The *dharmakāya* can be said to represent the intrinsic nature of Buddhahood. It is also identified with the mind of the Buddha.

18 See, e. g., *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Chapter 2, p. 20 of the Vaidya edition.

19 In other words, if the bond and the one bound are established as such by their own intrinsic natures, they need no connection with each other to be what they are. Thus it is pointless to apply a bond to one who is intrinsically bound in any case.

20 This is similar to the argument in chapter two of the MMK that "that which is being traversed is not being traversed." According to Tsong-kha-pa, to say "that which is being traversed is being traversed" is valid conventionally. It is not valid if that which is being traversed and the action of traversing are each supposed to be established by its own intrinsic nature. Then they must be independent and cannot both refer to the same action. See Tsong-kha-pa's commentary on MMK 2–4.

21 Compare the commentary on MMK 1–4a.

22 *skye-rgyu*, which might also be a contraction of *skye-ba'i rgyu*, "cause of origination."

23 In brief, Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas are followers of the Hīnayāna. They are said to be able to attain the realization of the absence of a self, or of an intrinsic nature, in persons. The Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamikas, represented by Candrakīrti, hold that they also realize the absence of self (in-

trinsic nature) in dharmas. The Svātantrika–Mādhyamikas, represented by Bhāvaviveka, hold that they do not not. As usual, Tsong–kha–pa follows Candrakīrti.

24 This sūtra is found in the *Bka' 'gyur* under the title *Ārya–mañjuśrī–vikurvaṇaparivarta–nāma–mahāyāna–sūtra* (Peking edition, *Mdo ku*, 273b–4 through 291b–1; vol. 27, pp. 263–270 in the Japanese reprint). At the end of the sūtra, the Bhagavan gives the preceding as its title and then gives *Bdud 'dul ba'i le'u*, *Māradamana–parivarta* as an alternate title. The passage quoted here begins at 281b–5. Mañjuśrī has been preaching to an assembly; Māra has just terrified them with a loud roar. The passage continues to 281b–8. There follows a long section in which Mañjuśrī, by his *adhiṣṭhāna*, forces Māra to appear in the form of a Buddha and preach the Dharma. The quotation resumes at 286b–3 ("Moreover" in the translation) and concludes on 287a–1. There are some differences in wording between the quotation here and the *Bka' 'gyur* version. On the other hand, the passage quoted by Tsong–kha–pa is virtually identical with the Tibetan translation of the passage quoted by Candrakīrti in the *Prasannapadā*. This indicates that Tsong–kha–pa took the quotation, as he did so much else, directly from the *Prasannapadā*.

THE EARLIEST PRINTINGS OF TSONG-KHA-PA'S WORKS: THE OLD DGA'-LDAN EDITIONS

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No Buddhist teacher of fourteenth or fifteenth century Tibet exerted as much influence on the development of Tibetan Buddhism as Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa (1357–1419). This great son of A-mdo was the founder of the Dga'-ldan-pa (also called the Dge-ldan-pa or Dge-lugs-pa) order, which over the years gained strength and in the mid-seventeenth century with Mongol help became the dominant religious tradition in a Tibetan theocracy. Within the school he founded, Tsong-kha-pa's mature writings had almost unquestioned authority, and his main treatises were also studied by some of the greatest scholars of other traditions. But in spite of his tremendous influence, thus far very little has become known about how his works were compiled, edited, printed and handed down to the present.

In 1983, while searching in India and Nepal for early xylographic editions of Sa-skya-pa works, I was fortunate enough to come across four early Dga'-ldan xylographs of works by Tsong-kha-pa. Here I will briefly describe them and the early printed "edition" to which they belonged, in the hope that still more of these early prints can be found if others learn of their existence.

Written References to the Old Dga'-ldan Editions

Certain works of Tsong-kha-pa were among the earliest books now known to have been printed in Tibet. Though xylographic printing of Tibetan books was already underway in western China by the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, in Tibet proper printing did not begin in a major way until the early fifteenth century.[1]

The earliest works printed in Tibet to which I have found reference are the *Guhyasamājamūla Tantra* and its *Pradīpoddyotana* commentary by Candrakīrtipada. According to the biography of Tsong-kha-pa by Mkhas-grub-rje, Tsong-kha-pa himself oversaw this printing project, which began late in the dog year (1418) and which was completed in the pig year (1419), the year of his passing.[2]

Tsong-kha-pa's personal interest in printing projects late in his life may have given a strong impetus to the xylographic printing of Tibetan books. After his death, his disciples and patrons seem to have continued the work of printing his writings as one way of "fulfilling his intentions" (*dgongs-pa rdzogs-pa*). The earliest large printing project in Tibet to which references survive is in fact an edition of many of Tsong-kha-pa's works that was executed in Central Tibet (Dbus) following the orders of the Phag-mo-gru-pa ruler Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1374–1432). According to the *Deb ther dmar*

po gsar ma of Paṇ–chen Bsod–nams–grags–pa (composed in 1538), the responsibility for seeing the project through was deputed to the minister I–nag–bzhi–'dzom of Gong–dkar.[3] During these and the following decades other nobles also sponsored the carving of printing blocks for works by Tsong–kha–pa. A slightly later patron of note mentioned in the *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* was the noble lady Chos–kyi–dpal–'dzom, who married into the powerful Sne'u family and who flourished in the mid–fifteenth century.[4] Many of these early blocks, if they were not originally carved at Dga'–ldan, were later moved there. Xylographs from them later came to be known as "old Dga'–ldan prints" (*dga'–ldan dpar–rnying*).

Many of the old Dga'–ldan printing blocks seem to have survived until recent times. An index of Central Tibetan printeries compiled in the 1940s states that blocks for somewhat more than two thousand pages of Tsong–kha–pa's works in the Dga'–ldan *spar–rnying* edition — including the *Sngags rim chen mo* and the Greater and Lesser *Lam rims* — were kept at Dga'–ldan in the Zung–'ju khams–tshan.[5]

In addition, a few old Dga'–ldan prints are said to have reached India in or after 1959. The late Khri–byang Rinpoche recorded in his autobiography that he had with him in India in the 1960s old Dga'–ldan editions of two monumental classics: the *Lam rim chen mo* and the *Sngags rim chen mo*.[6] He also recorded that he offered both books on different occasions to H.H. the Dalai Lama. Surely these xylographs, if they still exist, are very important cultural properties that deserve not only conscientious preservation but also publication.

In his autobiography, Khri–byang Rinpoche records several interesting details about the old edition of the *Sngags rim chen mo*, having apparently jotted them down from the colophon of the original xylograph. The blocks, he says, were carved in the fire–horse year (1426), six years (*sic*) after the passing of Tsong–kha–pa. The carving was accomplished under the patronage of Bzhi–'dzom, a noble who had been appointed *rdzong–dpon* of Lho–kha Gong–dkar by the Sne–gdong sde–srid Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan (and thus it was one of the xylographs referred to in the *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma*). The project was accomplished in accordance with the previous urging of Rgyal–tshab–rje (1364–1432), Rtogs–ldan 'Jam–dpal–rgya–mtsho and Sems–dpa'–chen–po Kun–bzang–pa.[7] After the blocks had been carved, they were donated to Dga'–ldan in the seventh year of Rgyal–tshab–rje's tenure as Dga–ldan khri–pa.[8]

Four Prints Recently Located in India and Nepal

The first old xylograph I saw which seemed to be from the old Dga'–ldan edition was a print of Tsong–kha–pa's *Lam rim chung ngu* (*Byang chub lam gyi rim pa*) owned by a private individual in Dharamsala.[9] In this edition the work was 161 short folios in length and on f. 160b.6 there was a colophon that began:

swasti dzaya/
lha dbang dbang phyug gdong bzhi khyab 'jug sogs//

Unfortunately, much of the colophon was illegible because repeated use over the years had damaged the final pages of the book. In the very short time I could examine the book I was not able to verify from the colophon any link with Dga'–ldan, though the person who showed it to me believed it to be an old Dga'–ldan edition. Nevertheless, a legible passage in the colophon did contain the date of its printing: a wood–male–mouse year, perhaps 1444.

The other three old Dga'–ldan xylographs that I located were preserved together in a monastic library near Bodhnath, Nepal. All three were tantric ritual works by Tsong–kha–pa, and the blocks of at least two were carved between 1419 and 1432. They were of similar appearance and were very well preserved.

(1) *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i sgrub pa'i thabs.*

This work was a *sādhana* of Vajrabhairava in a group of thirteen deities. In this edition, the text was eleven folios long, with seven lines per page. The printing face of the block for folio 1, verso, measured 47.2 x 6.0 cms. There was no printed marginal notation or marking, but somebody had written the character *e* with red ink in the left margin, recto. There was no separate title page; the title appears on folio 1, verso, line 1.

The colophon contained little information of historical value (for its full text, see the Appendix). One learns only that the block carving was accomplished at 'Brog Ri–bo–che Dge–ldan–rnam–par–rgyal–ba'i–gling, i.e., at Dga'–ldan itself, and that the master in charge of the carving was named Chos–seng.

(2) *Khyab bdag rdo rje sems dpa' bsnyen bsgrub bzhi'i sbyor bas mnyes par byed pa'i sgrub thabs rnal 'byor dag pa'i rim pa.*

This was a propitiatory *sādhana* of Vajrasattva within the *Guhyasamāja* cycle. In this edition it is nineteen folios long, with seven lines of text per page. The printing block of folio 1, recto, measured 46 x 5.7 cms. There was no marginal notation.

The xylographic edition permits an approximate dating of this edition to the 1420s or the 1430s. The purpose of the religious patronage of the project was to fulfill the intentions (*dgongs–pa rdzogs*) of the deceased Dpal–ldan Bla–ma (Tsong–kha–pa), and it was also meant to cause the domain of the great noble Nam–mkha'–bzang–po and his nephew to flourish and increase. Nam–mkha'–bzang–po of Sne'u was one of Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan's main ministers and was a great patron of Tsong–kha–pa. He was the chief patron of the founding of 'Bras–spungs in 1416, and according to the *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma*, he was also the great patron of the first Smon–lam festival in Lhasa (Tucci 1971: 240 ff.). Besides Nam–mkha'–bzang–po, several other persons are mentioned in the colophon as active in its sponsorship, though

their identities are otherwise unknown to me. These include the monk Rin-chen-dpal and a certain Yon-tan-'od. The proofreader or editor was one Bsod-nams-blo-gros. The place where the blocks were carved is specified as Chos-'khor chen-po dpal-gyi Lha-sa, i.e., Lhasa. According to the colophon, this was the first ever printed edition of the work (*sngon med dpar*).

(3) *Dpal gsang ba 'dus pa mi bskyod rdo rje dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga dbang gi don gyi de nyid rab tu gsal ba.*

This work is a *maṇḍalavidhi* of Akṣobhyavajra Guhyasamāja. In this edition the work was forty-three folios long, with seven lines of text per page. The size of the printed portion of the page was 46.5 x 6.0 cms. (For the full colophon, see the Appendix.)

These blocks definitely were carved during the period 1419–1432, because the purpose of the project was to fulfill the intentions of the late "Bla-ma-mchog" (Tsong-kha-pa) and to increase the lifespan and activities of Rgyal-tshab dam-pa (Dar-ma-rin-chen [1364–1432]). One of the main patrons was a certain Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan. Also active in the project were the monk Sangs-rgyas-bsam-grub and his associates. The place of the block carving was Ri-bo Dge-ldan Rnam-par-rgyal-ba'i-gling (i.e., Dga'-ldan).

Conclusion

Those, then, were the early Dga'-ldan editions of the great Tsong-kha-pa's work that I learned about through written sources or that I actually located. If others were to make a determined search for such xylographs, I am sure that more could be found.

From the above discoveries it is clear that many of Tsong-kha-pa's writings have existed in printed editions for over five-and-a-half centuries. Future studies, editions and translations of Tsong-kha-pa's works must take this into account; to ignore these editions would be to abandon early and potentially crucial witnesses for the critical establishment of what Tsong-kha-pa actually thought and said. At present a fundamental gap in Tsong-kha-pa studies is the lack of careful comparative editions of his main works. To prepare such critical editions — which are the only sound basis for definitive translations or studies — it will be necessary to begin by systematically gathering all available xylographic editions and independent manuscripts. And whoever undertakes this important project should begin by searching out the old Dga'-ldan prints.

APPENDIX

1. *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i sgrub pa'i thabs*

–11 ff., 7 lines per page. Block size, f. 1, verso: 47.2 x 6.0 cm.
–No printed notation in the left margin, but written in red ink: *e.*
–No title page; the title appears on f.1, verso, line 1.
[*par byang*:]

gzugs mchog mchog tu drag po che//
dpa' bo mchog gi spyod yul can//
gdul dka' 'dul ba'i don mdzad pa//
rdo rje 'jigs byed la phyag 'tshal//
rab 'jam zhing gi mchod pa'i rdzas//
dpal ldan zag med bde ster ba//
gus pa'i sems kyis rgyun tu 'bul//
bcom ldan brtse bas bzhes su gsol//
dpag med sdug bsngal kun 'byung ba//
lus ngag yid kyi sdig pa rnams//
bsam pa thag pas khyod la gshags//
myur du ma lus byang bar shog//
phan dang bde ba kun gyi rgyu//
bsod nams dang ni ye shes kyi//
tshogs gnyis dge ba gang dag gis//
bsags pa rnams la bdag yid rang//
mgon khyod nam mkha' ji srid par//
mya ngan mi 'da' rtag bzhugs nas//
ma rig mun par lhung rnams la//
chos kyi 'khor lo bskor du gsol//
bdag gis bgyid dang bgyid 'gyur gyi//
bsod nams phung po ci yod pa//
de dag sems can kun don du//
byang chub mchog tu yongs su bsngo//
zhes pa'i bsgrub thabs 'di *'brog ri bo che dge ldan rnam par rgyal ba'i gling* du par du bsgrubs pa'i do dam btsun pa *chos seng* gis bgyis/ mdo sngags kyi bstan pa rin po [che] phyogs thams cad du dar rgyas yun du gnas par gyur cig/ shubhaṁ//

2. *Khyab bdag rdo rje sems dpa' bsnyen bsgrub bzhi'i sbyor bas mnyes par byed pa'i 'dus pa'i sgrub thabs rnal 'byor dag pa'i rim pa*

–19 ff., 7 lines per page. Block size, f. 1, recto: 46 x 5.7 cm.
–No notation in the margin.
[*par byang* (f. 18, verso 7):]

swasti/
rgyud sde'i mchog gyur dpal ldan 'dus pa yi//
rim pa dang po'i gsal byed bsgrub thabs (19r) 'di//
dpal ldan 'dus pa'i rnal 'byor pa//
blo bzang grags pa'i dpal gyis zab mo'i don//
phyogs dus kun du bstan pa rgyas phyir mdzad//
sngon med dpar du sgrub pa'i 'thun pa'i rkyen//
dpon 'dir yab yum dang ni dge sbyong *rin chen dpal*//
la sogs 'byor ldan mang pos dad pas bsgrubs//
dad pa'i gsol 'debs *bla ma 'jam pas* mdzad//
dge 'dis mtshon pa'i legs tshogs ci mchis pa//
dpal ldan bla ma'i thugs dgongs rdzogs pa dang//
rgyal ba'i bstan pa ring du gnas phyir dang//
bstan pa'i sbyin bdag *nam mkha' bzang po* ba//
khu dbon sku tshe chab srid rgyas phyir du//
yon tan 'od sogs grogs mched dad pas bsgrubs//
'di yi phyogs su sgo gsum re res kyang//
'thun pa'i rkyen la 'bad pa gang bgyis pa//
de dag kun kyang rgyal ba'i dam chos kun//
rgyal ba'i dgongs pa ji bzhin 'dzin gyur cig//
de ltar sgyu ma ji bzhin rmi lam bzhin//
snang stong lha skur gsal ba'i ngang nyid nas//
phyogs bcu'i rgyal ba rab 'byam kun 'dus pa//
mi bskyod rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor 'khor lo la//
rmad byung bde bas dgyes pa skyed slad du//
phyi dang nang dang gsang ba'i mchod bstod dang//
bsgom dang bzlas pa sogs la 'dir 'bad pa//
bdag gis ji snyed bsags pa'i dge ba 'dis//
rang nyid srid mtshor lhung ba ji bzhin du//
mar gyur 'gro ba kun kyang de 'dra bar//
mthong nas 'gro ba sgrol ba'i khur 'khyer ba'i//
byang chub sems mchog 'byongs pa nyid gyur cig//
sems tsam bskyed kyang tshul khrims rnam gsum la//
goms pa med na byang chub mi 'grub par//
legs par mthong nas rgyal sras sdom pa la//
brtson pa drag pos slob pa nyid gyur cig//
thun mong lam sbyangs snod du gyur pa na//
theg pa kun gyi mchog gyur rdo rje'i theg//
skal bzang skye bo'i 'jug ngogs dam pa der//
bde blag nyid du 'jug pa nyid gyur cig//
bum dbang ga ga'i chu rgyun bskur ba yis//
tha mal snang zhen dri ma dag byed shog//
gsang ba ye shes bdud rtsi myangs pa yis//

ngag gnas rlung ni sngags su 'char bar shog//
gsum pa lhan skyes dga' ba'i lcags kyu yis//
yid ni 'od gsal dbyings su 'dren par shog//
bzhi pa zung 'jug don la ngo sprad pas//
mthar thug don la sgro 'dogs chod par shog//
de tshe dngos grub rnam gnyis 'grub pa'i gzhi//
rnam dag dam tshig sdom par gsungs pa la//
bcos ma min pa'i nges pa rnyed gyur nas//
srog dang bsdos te rtag tu bsrung bar shog//
zhus dag pa sdom brtson *bsod nams blo gros* so/ chos 'khor chen po dpal gyi *lha sar* grub pas dge legs 'phel bar gyur cig//

3. *Dpal gsang ba 'dus pa mi bskyod rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga dbang gi don gyi de nyid rab tu gsal ba*
-43 ff., 7 lines per page. Block size: 46.5 x 6.0 cm.
[*par byang*:]

oṁ bde legs su gyur cig/
gsung rab mthar thug dpal ldan 'dus pa yi//
'jug pa'i sgo 'byed dkyil 'khor cho ga ['di ?]//
bde legs mthar thug bstan pa rgyas pa dang//
bla ma mchog de'i thugs [dgongs ?] rdzogs phyir dang//
bstan pa'i srog shing *rgyal tshab dam pa* yi//
sku tshe 'phrin las dar zhing rgyas phyir du//
'gro ba rnams la lhag par brtse ba can//
rin chen rgyal mtshan bka' yis bskul phyir dang//
dge 'dun rnams kyis 'thun pa'i rkyen sbyar nas//
sangs rgyas bsgrub la lhag par brtson pa can//
sdom brtson *sangs rgyas bsam grub* grogs mched kyis//
dad pa kun nas blangs te dpar du rkos//
'di yi phyogs su 'bad brtsol bgyis pa dang//
zang zing cung zad gtang ba de dag kyang//
mar gyur 'gro ba kun gyi re skong ba'i//
khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang ba thob gyur cig//
ces *ri bo dge ldan rnam par rgyal ba'i gling* du legs par grub pa'o/ 'dis kyang bstan pa rin po che phyogs dus kun du rgyas par byed nus par gyur cig//

NOTES

[1] For a brief sketch of the history of printing of Tibetan books, see Jackson 1983. It is now clear that the xylographic publication of the history of China and Tibet mentioned in the *Hu lan deb ther* (*Deb ther dmar po*) as having taken place in a wood-ox year must be dated 1325 (instead of 1265, as I had tentatively proposed), for Rin-chen-grags Gu-shri was an imperial teacher at the Yüan court in that time. The Tibetan word for "printing block," *shing-par*, occurs in a Tun-huang manuscript of the Stein collection. See Thomas 1952 i: 120, as cited by Simon 1962: 72, and n. 5.

The twentieth century scholar Dge-'dun-chos-'phel dated the spread of printing in Tibet to the lifetime of Tsong-kha-pa. He held that the widespread use of xylographs provided Tibetans with more or less uniform models for calligraphy, and that this prevented the Tibetan *dbu-can* script from changing. See Dge-'dun-chos-'phel 1979: 32a.2. W.D. Shakabpa, in his political history of Tibet, dated the beginning of Tibetan printing to just before the life of Tsong-kha-pa. In his words: "*rje thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzang grags pa'i sku dus kyi sngon tsam nas gsung rab rnams mchod sbyin 'dzad med du spel slad shing par rko ba'i srol dar ba nas* ..." (Shakabpa 1976 i: 116). Unfortunately, he did not mention any particular early editions. He did mention that the main (modern) centers of printing were Snye-mo, E, and Sde-dge, and that the schools of printing and calligraphy were established in the first two places.

On printing in Tibet, Snellgrove and Richardson (1968: 139) also say:

> It is not impossible that the technique for carving wooden printing blocks reached Tibet from China before the fifteenth century, although there is no evidence of any Tibetan book being produced by that method before the printing of the Canon (*bKa'-'gyur*) in China in 1411.

Though their dating is about right regarding the printing of books *in Tibet proper*, Tibetan books had already begun to be printed in the borderlands of western China by the late thirteenth century at least. For some earlier discussions of the origins of Tibetan printing and related subjects, see Shafer 1960; Goodrich 1962; Simon *op. cit.*; and Róna-Tas 1965: 123, n. 14. I am obliged to Mr. T. Takeuchi for these last references. Another potentially important source is inaccessible to me: the unpublished dissertation of Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1949), cited by Róna-Tas, *ibid.*

On the Tibetan techniques of carving xylograph blocks, see Jest 1961. On the methods of printing, see Migot 1957: 146-147.

[2] Mkhas-grub Dge-legs-dpal-bzang 1983 i: 107 (*ka*: 54a). *[khyi] lo de'i gzhug nas thugs kyi dgongs pa dang sta gon mdzad nas/ dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rtsa rgyud 'grel pa sgron gsal dang bcas pa par du brko ba'i sbyor ba nye bar brtsams te/ 'bad rtsol med par phag lo'i nang du legs par mthar phyin par mdzad la/.* I am indebted for this reference to Mr. Tsultrim Kalsang. The latter in his Tibetan history refers to this printing and comments: *'di ni*

dge lugs gzhung par du brkos pa dang po yin par mngon no// [though these were not Dge–lugs–pa publications as such] (Khangkar 1980: 218).

It may be that the printing of the Yongle edition of the Peking Kanjur in 1410 forcefully awoke Tsong–kha–pa and other Tibetans of the early fifteenth century to the great possibilities of this technology.

3 "Goṅ dkar bźi ạdsom, following the words of the Goṅ ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an, ordered many scriptures to be written, such as the bKa' ạgyur in golden letters, and caused many of the works of rJe rin po c'e to be printed" (Tucci 1971: 237). Tibetan text, f. 98, recto: *gong dkar bzhi 'dzom pas ni gong ma grags pa rgyal mtshan pa'i gsung bzhin/ gser gyi bka' 'gyur sogs gsung rab mang po bzhengs pa dang/ rje rin po che'i gsung rab mang po'i spar brko ba sogs mdzad/.*

Possibly another early printed edition from the same period and patronage is a xylograph of Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka* (*Byang chub sems dpa'i rnal 'byor bzhi brgya pa*) preserved in the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, number *kha* 3, 44, no. 2615. It is thirteen folios long, seven lines to the page and printed on very long pages. The colophon is written in high–flown *kāvya* style, and its contents are therefore a bit difficult to decipher. Its printing was apparently inspired by Tsong–kha–pa (referred to as "Blo–bzang–bstan–pa'i–nyi–ma") and supported by a great ruler (*mi dbang sa skyong chen po* = Gong–ma Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan ?). The actual carving work was done at the Gong–dkar Palace, in the period of "*stobs ldan dpung bzhi 'jom* [read: *'dzom* ?] *pa.*" This seems to be a reference to none other than Gong–dkar Bzhi–'dzom:

dbang po'i lha las dge mtshan mi dman zhing//
stobs ldan dpung bzhi 'jom pa'i sku ring la//
gong dkar sa 'dzin dkar po'i pho brang der//
dri med ljon pa'i ngos la spar du bkod//

4 "The princess [footnote: dpon sa] C'os kyi dpal ạdsom ma accomplished many meritorious actions: she ordered a set of the bKa' ạgyur to be written in golden letters and many of the works of the rJe rin po c'e and his disciples to be printed, and rendered many services to the community" (Tucci 1971: 241). The Tibetan text, f. 101, recto: *dpon sa chos kyi dpal 'dzom* (mchan: *brag dkar ba'i sras mo*) *mas kyang gser gyi bka' 'gyur bzhengs pa/ rje yab sras kyi gsung rab mang po'i spar brko ba/ dge 'dun gyi zhabs tog sogs dge las mang po grub/.*

5 Three Karchaks 1970: 201.4. *zung 'ju khams tshan du/ dga' ldan spar rnying sngags rim chen mo dang/ lam rim che chung sogs rje tsong kha pa chen po'i bka' 'bum gras shog bu nyis stong brgal tsam dang/.*

6 Khri–byang Rinpoche 1978 iv: 452.1, 478.3 (*nga* 225b.1, 278b.3). I am indebted to Mr. Tsultrim Kalsang for these references.

7 Sems–dpa'–chen–po Kun–bzang–pa was a teacher of Dge–'dun–grub–pa (1391–1474) when the latter first went to Dbus in ca. 1410. They met at Khra–'brug, and later travelled together to Bkra–shis–rdo–mkhar to meet Tsong–kha–pa, who had been invited there by the ruler Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan. See Khetsun Sangpo 1973 vi: 272, which is based on the Fifth Dalai Lama's *Du ku la'i gos bzang.*

[8] Khri–byang Rinpoche 1978: 478.1 [278b.1]. *sngon dus rgyal tshab rje dang/ rtog ldan 'jam dpal rgya mtsho/ sems dpa' chen po kun bzang pa gsum gyis bskul ma gnang ba ltar/ sne gdong sde srid grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis lho kha gong dkar rdzong dpon du bkos pa dpon bzhi 'dzoms zhes pas rgyu sbyar te rje tsong kha pas phag lor zhi bar gshegs nas lo drug 'das pa'i zil gnon zhes pa me rta la dpar du bskrun te/ rgyal tshab chos rje khri lo bdun pa'i thog dpar gzhi gdan sa dga' ldan du phul ba'i dpar rnying 'khrul med kyi sngags rim chen mo pod gcig ....*

[9] I am indebted to Mr. Tashi Tshering for helping me locate this print.

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE BONPO DEITY KHRO–BO GTSO–MCHOG MKHA'–'GYING

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The iconography of the Bon religion remains a subject which has hardly been touched upon by Tibetologists.[1] It therefore seems appropriate to dedicate this presentation of a Bonpo deity to the memory of Turrell V. Wylie, a Tibetologist whose career was characterized by innovative thinking and research in unexplored areas of Tibetan history and culture.

Like the Buddhists, the Bonpos divide their tantras into "Father tantras" and "Mother tantras." The "Father tantras" focus on five deities known as *gsas–mkhar mchog–lnga*, the "Five Supreme Ones of the '*Gsas*–Palace'."[2] Of these, the first two are Dbal–gsas Rngam–pa and Lha–rgod Thog–pa. The third is Khro–bo Gtso–mchog Mkha'–'gying, the "Wrathful One, the Supreme Lord Spanning the Sky" (hereafter referred to as Gtso–mchog). The remaining two are Phur–pa and Dbal–chen Ge–khod (Karmay 1972: 45, n. 2). The tantras and ancillary texts of the first three deities are collectively known as *Spyi spungs*, or *Spyi spungs bsgrags pa skor gsum*. Sometimes the term *Spyi–spungs* also seems to refer to the deities themselves.[3]

The basic tantra dealing with the first three deities is the *Gsas mkhar rin po che spyi spungs gsang ba bsen thub*, a text which is contained in the Bonpo Kanjur.[4] As for Gtso–mchog, there exists a collection of treatises devoted exclusively to this deity, entitled *Khro bo rgyud drug*.[5] This text, too, is included in the Bonpo Kanjur. S.G. Karmay (1977: 11) has described the contents of the *Khro bo rgyud drug* as follows: "Exposition of the philosophical significance of the divinity Khro bo gtso mchog mkha' 'gying and the means by the application of which one discovers the deity in oneself."

A large collection of texts, fifty–three titles in all, concerned with the *zhi–khro* ritual, i.e., the invocation of peaceful and wrathful deities in the course of the mortuary rites, was published in Delhi, ca. 1967.[6] It is entitled *Zhi khro sgrub skor* and was compiled by the well–known abbot of Sman–ri Monastery, Nyi–ma–bstan–'dzin (b. 1813). "The texts are mainly drawn from the *Spyi spungs* cycles and the compiler has added a number of works by himself including instruction works (texts No. 1–5) for performing the *Zhi–khro* ceremony" (Karmay *ibid.*: 36). Texts 13–19 of this collection form a single work known as *Khro gzhung chen mo ngo mtshar rgyas pa*, which is included in the Bonpo Tenjur. "It was rediscovered by Gshen chen Klu dga' (996–1035) from 'Bri mtshams mtha' dkar in 1017" (Karmay *ibid.*: 33).

Among these texts (i.e., numbers 13–19 above), we find a description of Gtso–mchog in no. 15, entitled *Khro bo dbang chen gyi pho nya'i le'u*. The

description is given on fols. 1b–4b, and may be translated as follows (the Tibetan text is given below):

Bswo! When the fire of your intense fury blazes up,
The entire universe resounds with thundering cries of *bswo*!
The entire universe resounds with thundering cries of *cha*!
The entire universe resounds with thundering cries of *ha–la*!
Causing cries of *bswo* and *cha* and *ha–la* to resound,
We implore you to grasp everything through undefiled concentration!
We implore you to bind everything by means of undefiled *mūdras*!
We implore you to liberate all beings through undefiled compassion!

Bswo! From the mind immersed in unmoved concentration
Is evoked through mental power the unique and super–natural Supreme Wrathful One!

Bswo! In the central realm of Highest Truth, in the blazing shrine of the Wrathful One,
Causing furious cries of *ha–la* and *cha* to resound,
Is the blazing Wrathful One, the Supreme Lord, the God
Towering in the Sky.
His majestic form, furious utterly beyond endurance,
Has three faces, six arms, one leg extended and the other one drawn in.

Bswo! The right face is shining white,
The left face is lustrous red,
The middle face is bluish black.
The dark brown hair twists upwards.
He entirely subdues the three worlds.
He utterly overpowers the three realms of appearance by his splendour.
He directs the universe upwards,
He presses the nine doors of hell downwards.
He wears crystal hanging–ornaments of wind,
He has fastened on the lower garment of lightning.
He is adorned with the insignia of a hero, a demon's flayed skin,
His girdle is a serpent, bound around his waist.
On the upper part of his body is a demon's hide,
And on the lower part, a tiger's tattered skin [?].
Of his six hands, in the upper right
He clasps the banner of victory.
It overcomes the demons and their hosts.
In the middle right hand he displays

The Sword of Wisdom which cuts off discursive thought.
With it he cuts the roots of the obstructive enemies, birth and death.
In the lower hand he clasps
The axe of thunder and lightning.
With it he splits the obstructive enemies from top to toe.
Of his six hands, in the upper left
He clasps an arrow and a bow, the weapons of the visible world.
With them he strikes the very center of the heart of the obstructive enemies.
In the middle left hand he extends
The magic lasso of Skillful Means.
With it he rescues from the pit of repeated birth and death.
In the lower hand he clasps
The magic hook of Compassion.
With it he rescues from the swamp of hell.
By showing his conch–white teeth,
He extracts the obstructive enemies from the very center of the heart.
By spreading his many fingers,
He hurls weapons at enemies and demons.
By raising his great face towards the sky,
He consumes the host and country of the ogres as his food.
The eight great gods adorn his head,
The eight great *nāgas* he oppresses with his feet,
The eight great planets he sets in motion with his hand,
The four great kings he sends forth as his messengers.
The lion, elephant, and horse, the dragon and the *garuḍa*,
The male and female gods and demons he spreads out to make his seat.
The Great Mother clasps the Great Father in embrace.
As for his entourage, he is surrounded by a hundred thousand times a thousand.
Causing furious cries of *ha–la* and *cha* to resound,
When the Great One issues from the Void
The whole entourage chants as follows:
"Arise, arise, from the Void arise!
Come forth, come forth, from your place come forth!
If you harm, you may harm even a god,
If you are wrathful there is neither near nor far.
There is nothing which you do not subdue:
Those who destroy the Doctrine of Bon,
Those who revile the rank of Gshen–rab,

Those who destroy the wealth of the holders of ritual drums,
Those who break their solemn vows,
Malicious enemies who create hindrances —
Without compassion for them,
Subdue them utterly and grind them into dust!
Drive them far away and quickly 'liberate' them!"

Bswo! As for the Great Mother inseparably united in embrace —
From the mind which has the nature of the tranquil sky
The marks of fury of an irresistable thunderbolt arise:
The Fierce One in the Sky, the Matrix, the Mother of All!
Shining in splendour with the red color of power,
Bluish black, her hair piled up like clouds cleaving the sky,
Her eyes flash upwards like two great, irresistible stars,
Her eyebrows move like rainbows in the space of heaven,
From her nostrils whirls the black apocalyptic storm,
In her mouth Compassion spreads a turquoise mist,
From her ears the dreadful sound of a dragon's roar thunders forth.
The marks of glory — sun, moon, planets, stars — adorn her limbs.
With her right hand, she hurls the great golden thunder-bolt at the enemy,
With her left, she offers a heart to the mouth of the Father.
Round her neck, a cobra is passed like a bandoleer [?].
Inseparably she clasps the Father in embrace, her mind resolved on Skillful Means alone.

The description given above corresponds closely to pictorial representations of Gtso-mchog. One, reproduced here, is a line-drawing by Lobpön Tenzin Namdak, one of the chief contemporary Bonpo scholars. The only significant difference between the drawing and the text is that in the drawing Gtso-mchog holds an arrow in his lower left hand instead of a bow *and* arrow in his top left hand. Correspondingly, he holds the lasso in his upper left hand, and a hook in his middle left hand. Another example is a fine thanka, published in 1972 (Schoettle catalogues, ill. no. 49; see n. 1 below), now in a Swiss private collection. This thanka, dating perhaps from the eighteenth or nineteenth century, originates from Dolpo in Nepal. The short description accompanying the illustration correctly identifies the deity. His consort is not identified. On this thanka, the deity has the same attributes as in the line-drawing, except the sword is held in the upper right hand, the axe in the middle, and the banner in the lower right hand. Likewise the thanka shows the eight *nāgas* trampled under his feet, as well as his entourage of



Plate 1: Khro-bo Gtso-mchog Mkha'-'gying

sixteen major deities, each with a consort, nine *gze-ma*, nine *gyad-mo*, nine *byin-te*, ten *gyad*, ten *dmag-dpon* and four *rgyal-chen*.[7]

A statue in gilt bronze is reproduced in Karmay 1972 (Fig. V). The attributes which the deity should hold in his six hands are missing; however, the five animals which support him are to be found on the base of the statue.

The consort of Gtso-mchog is, as we have seen, Mkha'-la Gdug-mo, "Fierce One in the Sky," a form of Srid-pa'i Rgyal-mo, "Queen of the Visible World," one of the chief goddesses of Bon.[8] There is a clear connection between Gtso-mchog and Srid-pa'i Rgyal-mo. Thus it is from her that Bon-zhig Khyung-nag (b. 1103) receives orally the "rite of Gtso-mchog";[9] likewise, we hear of a Bonpo master practicing the *Khro gzhung ngo mtshar rgyas pa* and having a vision of Srid-pa'i Rgyal-mo, in whose heart-*cakra* Gtso-mchog appears (Karmay *ibid.*: 135).

It would be premature to attempt to establish links, not to speak of identifications, between Gtso-mchog and Buddhist deities which might appear to have similar traits. The study of the iconography of Bon is in its beginnings, and it is surely more useful to map its pantheon than to speculate about its origins and affiliations.

Tibetan Text of Khro bo dbang chen gyi pho nya'i le'u, fols. 1b–4b

(1b) bswo khyod ni nan ltar 'khros shing 'tshigs pa'i tshe/
snang srid kun kyang bswo sgra di ri ri/
snang srid kun kyang cha sgra di ri ri/
snang srid kun kyang ha la di ri ri/

(2a) bswo dang cha dang ha la'i sgra sgrog cing/
ting 'dzin zag pa med pas thams cad bzung du gsol/
phyag rgya zag pa med pas thams cad bcing du gsol/
thugs rje zag pa med pas thams cad bsgral du gsol/

bswo 'gyur med ting 'dzin thugs kyi brnag pa las/
thugs kyis cho 'phrul khro mchog gcig bskul ba/

bswo dbus phyogs bon nyid khro gtum 'bar ba'i gsas mkhar na/
zhe sdang ha la cha yi sgra sgrog cing/
'bar ba'i khro bo gtso mchog mkha' 'gying lha/
shin tu mi bzad khro gtum brjid pa'i sku/
(2b) zhal gsum phyag drug zhabs kyang bskyang bskum tshul/

bswo g.yas kyi dbu zhal dkar la 'tsher/
g.yon gyi dbu zhal dmar la gdang/
dbus kyi dbu zhal mthing la nag/
ral pa kham nag gyen du 'khyil/
khams gsum ma lus dbang du bsdud/
srid gsum ma lus zil gyis gnon/

srid pa'i kha lo gyen du bsgyur/
na rag sgo dgu thur du gnon/
shel dkar rlung gi dpyang bu gsol/
'byung ba glog gi yang sham btags/
dpa' mtshan bdud kyi g.yang gzhis brgyan/
sbrul gyi ska rags rked la 'ching/
sku stod bdud kyi g.yang gzhi la/
sku smad stag gi kas ma hral/
phyag drug g.yas kyi dang po na/
mi nub pa yi rgyal mtshan bsnams/
bdud dang dmag las rgyal bar mdzad/
phyag drug g.yas kyi dbu ma na/
ye shes ral kyu bsam gcod 'phyar/
dgra bgegs skye shi rtsa ba gcod/
phyag drug g.yas kyi tha ma na/
(3a) gnam lcags thog gi sta mo bsnams/
dgra bgegs spyi nas rting du gshog/
phyag drug g.yon gyi dang po na/
srid pa'i mtshon cha mda' gzhu bsnams/
dgra bgegs snying gi dkyil du rdeg/
phyag drug g.yon gyi dbu ma na/
rdzu 'phrul thabs kyi zhags pa rkyong/
'khor ba mang po dong nas 'dren/
phyag drug g.yon gyi tha ma na/
thugs rje sprul pa'i lcags kyu bsnams/
na rags 'dam nas 'dren par mdzad/
dung gi mche ba gtsigs pa yis/
dgra bgegs snying gi dkyil nas 'dren/
phyag sor mang po bkram pa yis/
dgra dang bdud la zor du 'phen/
zhal chen gnam du gdengs pa yis/
srin po'i 'khor yul zas su bza'/
lha chen brgyad ni dbu la rgyan/
klu chen brgyad ni zhabs kyis gnon/
gza' chen brgyad ni phyag gis bsgyur/
rgyal chen rigs bzhi pho nyar 'gyed/
seng ge glang chen rta 'brug khyung/
(3b) lha bdud pho mo gdan du 'ding/
yum chen yab la 'khril bar bzhugs/
'khor ni 'bum phrag stong gis bskor/
zhe sdang ha la cha yi sgra sgrog cing/
chen po dbyings nas bskyod pa'i tshe/
'khor rnams kun kyang de bzhin nyid/

bzhengs shig bzhengs shig dbyings nas bzheng/
bskyod cig bskyod cig gnas nas bskyod/
gnod par byed na lha yang rung/
sdang bar byed na nye ring med/
khyod kyis mi 'dul gang yang med/
bon gyi bstan pa bshig pa dang/
gshen rab dbu 'phang smad pa dang/
rnga thogs dkor la 'bag pa dang/
zab mo'i dam las dog pa dang/
bar du gcod pa'i dgra bgegs la/
'di la thugs rje mi gnas kyis/
dbang du bsdus la rdul du rlogs/
rings par khug la myur du sgrol/(...)

(4a) bswo de dang gnyis med 'khril pa'i yum chen ni/
sems ni nam mkha' zhi ba'i rang bzhin las/
mi bzad thog chen khros pa'i rtags byung ba/
mkha' la gdug mo ba ga kun gyi yum/
gzi byin dbang gi mdog dmar 'od dang ldan/
mthing nag ral chen mkha' gshog sprin ltar gtibs/
spyan mig mi bzad skar chen gyen du shar/
smin ma gzha' tshon bar snang mkha' la 'khyug/
shangs kyi sgo nas bskal pa'i rlung nag 'tshubs/
sku phyed skyed shing sbu gu nang na dod/
zhal na thugs rje g.yu yi na bu 'thul/
snyan nas thug chem 'brug gi sgra chen ldir/
dpal mtshan nyi zla gza' skar sku la brgyan/
g.yas pas gser gyi thog chen dgra la 'bebs/
g.yon pas she thun yab kyi zhal du stobs/
(4b) mgul chun sbrul nag ga sha se ral kha/
gnyis med thabs kyi yid tsam yab la 'khril/

NOTES

1 This is not the place for a complete bibliography concerning Bon iconography. However, examples of such iconography have been published in various connections, of which some of the more important are listed below. So far, only one monograph has been devoted to the iconography of Bon, viz. Kvaerne 1985. This book deals exclusively with the iconography of the deities invoked during a particular ritual. Other references are Tucci 1949: Thanka no. 120, Plate 155, ii: 553–554; Hoffmann 1950: Plates 1 and 11 (cf. also Schuh 1981: Tafel 5); Tucci 1967: Plate 79; Karmay 1972: Frontispiece, Plates IV, V, VI; several illustrations in the *Schoettle Ostasiatica* catologues, e.g., 3 (ill. no. 50), 20 (ill. nos. 47 and 49), 28 (nos. 8418 and 8516), 31 (no. 9027), 39 (nos. 3529–3533 and 3557); Kvaerne 1977: ill. nos. 203–205; Lauf 1979: ill. nos. 85–88 and 91. Kvaerne 1986 is a detailed study of a series of biographical thankas in the Musée Guimet.

2 Karmay 1972: 42, n. 2. On *gsas-mkhar*, see Snellgrove 1967: 312 ("shrine or a mystic circle (*dkyil-ḥkhor*)"), Karmay 1972: 352 ("temple, citadel").

3 On the term *Spyi-spungs*, see Karmay 1972: xxi–xxiii, 15, n. 3.

4 The text has been published in *Bka' 'gyur rgyud sde'i skor*, 1972 i: 233–391. See Karmay 1977: 10. On the Bonpo Kanjur and Tenjur, see Kvaerne 1974.

5 This text has been published twice: in 1966 and again in 1972 (*Bka' 'gyur rgyud sde'i skor* 1972 i: 393–603); cf. Karmay 1977: 10, 18.

6 A full description of this collection is provided by Karmay 1977: 32–36.

7 On the nine *gze-ma*, see Nebesky–Wojkowitz 1956: 312; on the nine *gyad-mo*, *ibid.*: 13; and on the nine *byin-te*, *ibid.*: 315.

8 Karmay 1975: 200. She is mentioned by Nebesky–Wojkowitz 1956: 317 as the consort of Kha–'byings lha (to be corrected to Mkha'–'gying lha) under the name of Mkha'–la Gdug–mo Bdag–kun–gyi yum.

9 *snyan-du brgyud-pa'i...Gtso-mchog-gi sgrub-pa-rnams.* Karmay 1972: 169 and 327 (text).

SPA-TSHAB NYI-MA-GRAGS AND THE INTRODUCTION OF PRĀSAṄGIKA MADHYAMAKA INTO TIBET

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The distinction that we now take for granted in discussing Madhyamaka texts — Svātantrika versus Prāsaṅgika — developed late in Buddhist textual history. Though these two terms, or at least their Tibetan equivalents (*rang-rgyud*, *thal-'gyur*), were in use by Tibetan scholars from the fourteenth century onwards, there is no clear textual evidence that indicates when these terms first began to be used to classify Madhyamaka texts and their authors. The acceptance of independent (*svatantra*, *rang-rgyud*) inferences in philosophical arguments characterizes Svātantrika Madhyamaka/Mādhyamikas; the rejection of such inferences in favor of a *reductio ad absurdum* style of reasoning (*prāsaṅga*, *thal-'gyur*) characterizes the Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka/Mādhyamikas. The philosophical foundations of the Prāsaṅgika system were first set down by Buddhapālita (fifth century), criticized by Bhāvaviveka (sixth century), who was in turn criticized by Candrakīrti (sixth–seventh centuries). Though Madhyamaka texts written by these authors penetrated Tibet in the eight and ninth centuries, during the early dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet (*snga-dar*), the distinction between Svātantrika Madhyamaka and Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka was unknown before the start of the later dissemination (*phyi-dar*) in the eleventh–twelfth centuries. Although the study and teaching of Madhyamaka texts has a long history in Tibet, Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags, as the fifteenth century Sa-skya historians 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan attest, introduced the Prāsaṅgika interpretation of Madhyamaka into Tibet.

When the terms Svātantrika Madhyamaka and Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka became current and who first employed them remains unknown. Although Candrakīrti did not himself use these terms, Tsong-kha-pa dismisses the idea that scholars involved in the later dissemination of Buddhism invented them, since their usage conforms with his thinking in his major work, the *Prasannapadā*.[1] K. Mimaki (1983: 163) suggests that when Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags translated Candrakīrti's works, he may have been the first to use these terms. I do not intend to settle the issue in this paper. My intention is far more modest. I propose to show that prior to Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags's translation and teaching of the *Prasannapadā* and Candrakīrti's other major works there was no foundation for making these distinctions.

The Early Translation of Madhyamaka Texts

Tibetan historical works credit Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, minister to King Srong-btsan-sgam-po (620?–649) and a team of Indian, Nepalese, Chinese

and Tibetan collaborators with the first translations of Buddhist texts into Tibetan ('Gos Lo–tsā–ba 1971: 40 [Roerich 1976: 40]; Bu–ston 1971 xxiv: 880 [Obermiller 1932 ii: 185]). These historical works provide no further information on translation projects until the reign of King Khri–lde–gtsug–btsan (704–755), who sent Sang–shi, as the head of a group of Tibetans, to China and the border regions of Nepal to collect Buddhist texts. When they returned to Tibet in 759, they found that Bon ministers led by Ma–zhang Khrom–pa–skyes were in control. Sang–shi hid the texts he had collected until the death of Ma–zhang made it possible for translation work to resume. Me–mgo, a Chinese monk brought back to Tibet by Sang–shi's party, undertook the translation of Chinese texts; and Ānanda, an Indian *paṇḍita*, worked on the translations from Sanskrit.[2]

Although historical sources mention no Madhyamaka texts among these very early translations, the study and translation of Madhyamaka works was well established in central Tibet by the end of the eight century C.E. The distingushed Indian Madhyamaka scholar Śāntarakṣita first came to Tibet from Nepal around 763, during the reign of King Khri–srong–lde–btsan (755–797). One of the most influential writers on the syncretistic Yogācāra–Mādhyamaka system, he taught in Lhasa for four months until natural disasters and the hostility of the king's Bon ministers — who interpreted the occurrence of these unfortunate events as a manifestation of the local gods' outrage at the importation of foreign religious teachings — forced him to retreat to Nepal. He suggested the invitation of the Indian *siddha* Padmasambhava,[3] whose successful pacification of the hostile climate allowed Śāntarakṣita to return in 775. He then supervised the construction of the first Tibetan monastery, Bsam–yas, and served as its abbot (*mkhan–po*) until his death in about 788.[4]

According to tradition, Bsam–yas hosted a debate between opposed interpretations of Buddhist doctrine during the years 792–794. Some have argued that both debaters, Śāntarakṣita's student Kamalaśīla and the Chinese Ho–shang Mo–ho–yen, were Mādhyamakas. Bsod–nams–rgyal–mtshan's account of the debate in the *Rgyal rab gsal ba'i me long* states that both debaters' positions arose from the Madhyamaka philosophy.[5] Kamalaśīla's commentaries on his teacher's work and his own independent treatises leave no doubt about his affiliation, but it is unlikely that Mo–ho–yen was affiliated with the Chinese San Lun school.[6] Recent Ch'an studies support the identification of Ho–shang Mo–ho–yen as a Ch'an master. J. Broughton, working with the *Sba bzhed*, Dunhuang, and Rdzog–chen texts, has shed much light on the transmission of Ch'an teachings to Tibet. He maintains that Sang–shi brought back Ch'an texts from China, became abbot of Bsam–yas, and "taught a Chinese–style teaching within its precincts."[7] Ho–shang he identifies as a follower of the "all–at–one gate" (*ston–mun*) Ch'an school.[8] L. Gómez's study of Dunhuang materials leads him also to conclude that

Mo–ho–yen held a radical sudden enlightenment position, advocated simple principles of conduct, and prescribed meditational practices characteristic of Ch'an. The Dunhuang fragments which Gómez translates indicate that Mo–ho–yen frequently quoted from *Prajñāpāramitā–sūtras* and was familiar with the Madhyamaka teachings.[9] Bu–ston's account of the debate also reports that the Ho–shang quotes from the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (Bu–ston 1971 xxiv: 887 [Obermiller 1932 ii: 192]). Ho–shang's quotations from the *prajñāpāramitā* literature, traditionally associated with Nāgārjuna, and his knowledge of Madhyamaka views may have led Bsod–nams–rgyal–mtshan and others to conclude that the Bsam–yas "council" debated divergent views of Madhyamaka.

At Bsam–yas teams of Tibetan translators and Indian and Chinese collaborators continued to translate Buddhist texts. Since the earlier translators created an unfamiliar artificial language, and because translations from Chinese, Central Asian languages and Sanskrit rendered the same Buddhist technical term in many ways, grammatical and lexicographical works were compiled during the reign of Khri–lde–srong–brtsan (799–815) and his successor, Ral–pa–can (815–838), to help simplify and standardize translations. Ral–pa–can appointed a committee of scholars to revise systematically the earlier translations and to adopt guidelines for further translation work. In addition, this committee produced the *Ldan dkar ma*, a catalogue of all translations of Buddhist texts extant during the reign of Khri–srong–lde–brtsan (755–797?).[10]

The *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue indicates that translations of the works of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva; the works of later Mādhyamikas classified as Prāsaṅgikas, namely Buddhapālita, Candrakīrti, and Śāntideva; as Svātantrikas, namely Bhāvaviveka (or Bhavya), Avalokitavrata, Śrīgupta, and Jñānagarbha; and as Yogācāra–[Svātantrika]–Mādhyamikas, namely Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, were available by the ninth century C.E. These texts include several of the hymns attributed to Nāgārjuna, the *Acintyastava*, the *Niraupamyastava*, and the *Lokātītastava;* his letters, the *Suhṛllekha* and the *Ratnāvalī*; and several of his philosophical treatises, the *Mūlamadhyamakārikāḥ*, the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, the *Śūnyatāsaptati*, the **Dvādaśamukha*, the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā*, and the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*; and attributed to Āryadeva, the **Śataka* and the *Hastavālaprakaraṇa*. Several copies of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ* are listed: the *Akutobhaya*, Buddhapālita's *Mūlamadhyamakavṛtti*, Bhāvaviveka's *Prajñāpradīpa* and Avalokitavrata's *Prajñāpradīpaṭīkā*. This catalogue also lists Śrīgupta's *Tattvāvatāravṛtti*, Jñānagarbha's *Satyadvayavibhaṅga* and its commentary, Candrakīrti's *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* and *Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti*, Śāntideva's *Bodhicāryāvatāra* and *Śikṣasamuccaya*, Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṁkāra* and its commentary, *Satyadvayavibhaṅgapañjikā*, and *Saṁvaraviṁśikavṛtti*, Kamalaśīla's

Madhyamakālaṁkārapañjikā, *Madhyamakāloka*, *Bhāvanākrama*, *Tattvāloka*, and **Sarvadharma(sva)bhāvasiddhi.*

Only nine of the 736 titles in the *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue are listed as translations from the Chinese. None of them are Madhyamaka texts. However, the translation of two of three texts of the San Lun school, the **Śataka* and the **Dvādaśamukha*, may have been from the Chinese; these texts are extant in Chinese translation although the Tibetan translations no longer exist.[11]

Two early treatises by the translators of some of these texts, Ye–shes–sde's *Lta ba'i khyad par* and Dpal–brtsegs's *Lta ba'i rim pa'i man ngag* distinguish between Sautrāntika and Yogācāra Mādhyamikas, not between Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika Mādhyamikas. They classify Mādhyamikas according to their acceptance or rejection of an external object (*phyi–rol–gyi don–yod–par smra–ba*) on the conventional level (*kun–rdzob*). Bhāvaviveka and his followers, who accept the conventional existence of such objects, are classified as Sautrāntika–Mādhyamikas (*mdo–sde–pa'i dbu*) and Śāntarakṣita and his followers, who do not, are classified as Yogācāra–Mādhyamikas (*rnal–'byor spyod–pa'i dbu–ma*). Anonymous Dunhuang texts of this period and the *Lta ba'i rim pa* of Nyi–ma–'od also employ this classification.[12]

Śāntarakṣita's and Kamalaśīla's oral transmission of Yogācāra Mādhyamika views, in addition to their literary works, undoubtedly attracted many students and made their teachings widespread throughout Central Tibet. The scholar Gser–mdog Paṇ–chen Shākya–mchog–ldan, in his history of the origins of Madhyamaka, the *Dbu ma'i byung tshul*, says that two of the three Svātantrika texts from eastern India of special importance at this time were Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṁkāra* and Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka*. The third text was Jñānagarbha's *Satyadvayavibhaṅga*. This same list of texts occurs in the *Rgyud sde spyi rnam* of Mkhas–grub Dge–legs–dpal–bzang, in which Jñānagarbha is identified as a Sautrāntika–Svātantrika–Mādhyamika because, unlike Śāntarakṣita and his followers, he held that external objects exist apart from mind. If this Jñānagarbha is the same individual who collaborated with Ye–shes–sde and Cog–ro Klu'i–rgyal–mtshan in translating texts, both his oral teachings and written work could have established the Sautrāntika–Mādhyamika position.[13]

These sources all indicate that during the first dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet the views of the syncretistic Yogācāra–[Svātantrika]–Madhyamaka school of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla contested with those of the Sautrāntika–[Svātantrika]–Madhyamaka school of Bhāvaviveka and Jñānagarbha. The Prāsaṅgika position of Buddhapālita and Candrakīrti presented a significant challenge to these Svātantrika views only during the second dissemination of Buddhism.

The Translation of Madhyamaka Texts in the Later Dissemination

After the death of Ral–pa–can in 838, his brother Glang–dar–ma (r. 838–842) engineered a period of oppression against the Buddhists. Translation work ceased in Central Tibet, and the monks fled to outlying regions in the east and west. The reestablishment of close relations with the Buddhist scholars of northern India is due to the efforts of two tenth–century kings in Western Tibet (Mnga'–ris), Ye–shes–'od and his nephew and successor Byang–chub–'od. Ye–shes–'od sent twenty–one young Tibetans to Kashmir to study Buddhism and to collect Buddhist texts. Rin–chen–bzang–po (958–1055), one of two surviving members of this original group, returned to Tibet accompanied by Indian scholars to assist in translation work. He translated numerous Tantric texts, including the *Pradīpoddyotana* attributed to Candrakīrti, as well as revising an earlier translation of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra.* Byang–chub–'od invited the distinguished Indian scholar Atiśa Dipaṁkaraśrījñāna (982–1054) to Tibet. He arrived in western Tibet in 1042 and joined Rin–chen–bzang–po in translation work at Mtho–gling Monastery, where he wrote at Byang–chub–'od's request his best–known work, the *Bodhipathapradīpa.*

The *Bodhimārgadīpapañjikā*, a commentary on this text attributed to Atiśa, briefly describes the Madhyamaka school's basic doctrines and works. He includes himself and his teacher Bodhibhadra in the following Madhyamaka lineage: "The nectar of the noble Nāgārjuna's words satisfied Āryadeva, Candrakīrti, Bhavya, Śāntideva, and on up to Bodhibhadra too. Some has been sprinkled even on me."[14] He attributes to Nāgārjuna the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ*, the *Akutobhaya*, the *Vigrahavyāvartanī* , the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, the *Śūnyatāsaptati*, the *Ratnāvalī*, the *Mahāyānaviṁśika*, and the *Akṣaraśataka*; to Āryadeva, the **Madhyamakabhramaghāta*, the *Hastavālaprakaraṇa*, and the *Jñānasamuccaya*; to Candrakīrti, the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti*, the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*, and the *Prasannapadā*; and to Bhāvaviveka, the *Tarkajvāla* and the *Prajñāpradīpa.* This list of texts seems to link Atiśa "with the pure Madhyamaka traditions transmitted from Buddhapālita, Bhāvaviveka and Candrakīrti, rather than with the Yogācāra–Mādhyamika synthesis represented by Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla" (Ruegg 1981b: 112). Of the works listed, Atiśa and his student Nag–tsho–tshul–khrims (b. 1011) translated Bhāvaviveka's *Tarkajvāla* and Candrakīrti's work on Abhidharma, the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa.* The list was not an exhaustive catalogue of these authors' works, for they translated also Candrakīrti's *Triśaranasaptati* and Bhāvaviveka's *Ratnapradīpa*, *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikāḥ* and *Nikāyabhedavibhaṅga.*

Although some sources consider Atiśa to be a Prāsaṅgika Mādhyamika,[15] his translation of many of Bhāvaviveka's works and the inclusion of his name in the Madhyamaka lineage quoted above suggests that he himself did not

distinguish between Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika Mādhyamikas. He drew upon both Candrakīrti's and Bhāvaviveka's views in his own works. Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen reports that the basic texts of Candrakīrti's system were not in use during Atiśa's time but that parts of some of his works, such as the *Satyadvayāvatāra* and the *Bodhipathapradīpa*, rely on Candrakīrti's views.[16] Atiśa established the works of Bhāvaviveka and Candrakīrti as the basis for Madhyamaka study. Although he quotes Śāntarakṣita once in his *Bodhimārgadīpapañjikā* (f. 323a), he does not include him or Kamalaśīla within his own Madhyamaka lineage, which suggests that he differentiated between Yogācāra Mādhyamikas and those descended from a "pure" Madhyamaka lineage.

Only in the late eleventh or early twelfth century does a clear distinction between Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka begin to develop. Rngog Blo-ldan-shes-rab (1059–1109) travelled to Kashmir, where he studied Madhyamaka as well as the treatises of Maitreya[nātha] and Dharmakīrti with the Kashmiri scholars Sajjana, Bhavyarāja and Parahita for seventeen years before returning to Tibet in 1093. He revised an earlier translation of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, prepared summaries (*bsdus-don*) and commentaries on this text, Jñānagarbha's *Satyadvayavibhaṅga*, Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṁkāra*, and Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka*, as well as summaries of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ* and Bhāvaviveka's *Prajñāpradīpa*,[17] but none survive. Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen reports that Rngog Lo-tsā-ba systematized the three texts of the eastern Svātantrika, namely the *Satyadvayavibhaṅga*, the *Madhyamakālaṁkāra*, and the *Madhyamakāloka*, and transmitted his Svātantrika views to his students, Khyung Rin-chen-grags and Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros-'byung-gnas, who in turn passed these views on to Rgya-dmar-pa Byang-chub-grags and Phya-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1109–1169) (Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen 1975: 232). In another of his works, he notes that although Rngog Lo-tsā-ba saw the basic Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka texts (*thal-'gyur-pa'i gzhung*) when he was in India, these texts had not yet been translated into Tibetan.[18] Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's Svātantrika views were soon to be challenged by the translator of these texts.

Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags and the Translation of Prāsaṅgika Texts

Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags translated three of Candrakīrti's major works: his early independent treatise on Madhyamaka, the *Madhyamakāvatāra*; his commentaries on Nāgārjuna's and Āryadeva's major work, the *Prasannapadā*, and the *Bodhisattvayogācaryacatuḥśatakaṭīkā* respectively, both previously untranslated. He also translated for the first time the root text on which the last work comments. According to 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's accounts, this translator, Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags, made the Prāsaṅgika viewpoint of Candrakīrti the dominant interpretation of the classical works of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva from the twelfth century onwards

('Gos Lo-tsā-ba 1974: 304–305 [Roerich 1976: 341–343]; Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen 1975: 233).

There is no complete biography of Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags but some Tibetan historical works provide a few details of his life. The earliest of these sources, Bu-ston's *Chos 'byung*, briefly describes the major events of his life: "Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags studied in Kashmir for twenty-three years, invited the scholar Kanakavarman [to Tibet], and translated and explained Madhyamaka texts."[19] 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba in the *Deb ther sngon po* devotes an entire chapter to Nyi-ma-grags and his lineage ('Gos Lo-tsā-ba 1974: *loc. cit.* [Roerich 1976: *loc. cit.*]), which reveals considerably more about his activities. He was born in the Spa-tshab district of 'Phan-yul in the year 1055. In his youth, he travelled to Kashmir where he remained for twenty-three years, studying the Sanskrit language and Buddhist texts with the sons of Sajjana (or Sañjana) and other Kashmiri teachers. Though his age on leaving Tibet is not specified, it is likely that he, like his contemporary Rngog Lo-tsā-ba, was in his late teens when he arrived in Kashmir. Rngog Lo-tsā-ba seems to have arrived before Nyi-ma-grags, since he studied with the Kashmiri scholars Sajjana and Parahita and Nyi-ma-grags studied only with their successors, Sajjana's two sons and Parahita's student Mahāsumati.

Sajjana and his sons, Mahājana and Sūkṣmajana, were from a remarkable family of Kashmiri Buddhist scholars. The colophon to Candrakīrti's *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā*, translated by Nyi-ma-grags and Sūkṣmajana, says of the latter: "The Indian scholar Sūkṣmajana was born into the lineage of a family of scholars for countless generations, [he was] the son of the great brahmin Sajjana and the great-grandson of the great brahmin Ratnavajra."[20] Tāranātha in the *Rgya gar gyi chos 'byung* reports that the family's patriarch studied in Kashmir until the age of thirty-six, when he went to Magadha for further studies. He taught Tantra, logical texts, and the works of Maitreya[nātha] at Vikramaśīla before he returned to Kashmir (Tāranātha 1868: 240–241). In Kashmir he taught Rin-chen-bzang-po and subsequently travelled to Mtho-gling Monastery, where he assisted in the translation of Tantric texts. His son Mahājana worked with Mar-pa; his grandson Sajjana, with Rngog Lo-tsā-ba and Btsan Kha-bo-che; and his great- grandsons Mahājana and Sūkṣmajana, with Nyi-ma-grags. This family of scholars gave instructions on Tantra, the five texts of Maitreya[nātha], the seven logical works of Dharmakīrti, and Madhyamaka.[21]

Nyi-ma-grags studied in the Ratnaguptavihāra, located in the town of Anupamahāpura, the present day Śrīnagar (Naudou 1968: 185). He studied Sanskrit and received oral instruction on Buddhist texts from Sajjana's sons, Mahāsumati, and other Kashmiri scholars. These scholars transmitted their knowledge both of the written texts and the oral teachings associated with them. One of his teachers, Mahāsumati, received instruction on Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* and *Madhyamakāvatāra* from his teacher Parahita, who

had received them from his teacher Ratnavajra ('Gos Lo-tsā-ba 1974: 306 [Roerich 1976: 344]). Nyi-ma-grags likely spent the first decade or so of his stay in Kashmir mastering the intricacies of Sanskrit — a task that traditionally takes twelve years of study — and the latter decade working with Mahāsumati and other *paṇḍitas* on translating Sanskrit texts into Tibetan.

At the Ratnaguptavihāra Nyi-ma-grags revised with Mahāsumati Jñānagarbha's and Klu-rgyal-mtshan's ninth-century translation of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakārikāḥ* and translated Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*. He translated with Sūkṣmajana Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka* and Candrakīrti's *ṭīkā* and translated Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra* and *bhāṣya* with Tilakakalaśa. The colophons to several of these translations say that the work was done during the reign of the Kashmiri king Harṣadeva (1089-1101).[22] Since there are no colophon references to texts translated during the reign of his successor, Nyi-ma-grags must have returned to Tibet by the time Uccala assumed the throne in 1101. He can be placed, then, tentatively in Kashmir between the years 1077/8 and 1101.

When he returned to Tibet, two of the Indian scholars he had worked with in Kashmir, Kanakavarman and Tilakakalaśa, accompanied him. After his return to 'Phan-yul, Nyi-ma-grags taught Madhyamaka but had few students. But this situation changed once his good friend (*dge-ba'i bshes-gnyen*), the respected Bka'-gdams-pa scholar Shar-ba-pa (1070-1141), sent him his own students to study Madhyamaka. The *Deb ther sngon po* reports: "Then, after he successfully established Madhyamaka studies and supervised many students, he translated well the commentary written by Candrakīrti on the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, and three [major commentaries on] the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ*, the *Madhyamakāvatāra* and the *Catuḥśataka*."[23]

Later, at the Ra-mo-che Monastery in Lhasa, he and Kanakavarman compared these translations with the original Sanskrit texts brought from Magadha and made the appropriate revisions. Nyi-ma-grags, in collaboration with several Indian scholars, worked on the revision of his own earlier translations as well as on the translations of Madhyamaka texts prepared by earlier generations of Buddhist scholars. Jñānagarbha's and Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan's earlier translation of Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* he revised with Kanakavarman. He worked with Mudita on the revision of the earlier translation by Abhaya and Snur Dharma-grags of the commentary on the *Śūnyatāsaptati*.

Also while at Ra-mo-che, Nyi-ma-grags and Tilakakalaśa translated several of Nāgārjuna's hymns and revised the earlier translation of the *Madhyamakāvatāra* prepared by Nag-tsho and Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita. H. Tauscher's study of Nag-tsho's and Nyi-ma-grags's translations reveals that a number of the verses are practically identical, except for minor variations. Tauscher finds that these identical verses, which he attributes to the influence of Nyi-ma-grags's corrections, are not irregularly distributed. Important passages, such as those on the two truths, the refutation of the Yogācāra doctrine of percep-

tion, the discussion of dependent origination or the various kinds of emptiness, show relatively few differences. These differences occur primarily in introductory passages, summaries or elaborate examples. This may mean, he suggests, that Nyi-ma-grags did not go through the whole of the translation carefully but chose to concentrate on those parts which he considered most important. Tauscher notes that although Tsong-kha-pa in the *Dgongs pa rab gsal* occasionally prefers Nag-tsho's version, he primarily uses Nyi-ma-grags's translations; after Tsong-kha-pa, Nag-tsho's translation seems to have been forgotten.[24]

Although Nyi-ma-grags's major interest was in the teaching and translation of Candrakīrti's Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka texts, he also translated and taught the commentary on the *Guhyasamāja* attributed to Candrakīrti. According to the *Deb ther sngon po*, Nyi-ma-grags said about the earlier translation of the *Pradīpoddyotana*: "Rin-chen-bzang-po, renowned as an excellent translator, took pride in revising and translating [this text] but after I saw that it was incorrect, I retranslated it successfully."[25] Nyi-ma-grags continued to teach these texts for many years, until he was well into his eighties. The *Deb ther sngon po* does not record the date of Nyi-ma-grags's death. He was still alive in 1141 when Brtson-'grus-gzhon-nu asked him to participate in his ordination. He may have died shortly thereafter. 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba reports that Khyung-tshang-pa (b. 1115) was unable to complete his Madhyamaka studies under Nyi-ma-grags and instead studied under his student Ngar Yon-tan-grags-pa (Roerich 1976: 297, 441).

There is no doubt that Nyi-ma-grags's skillful translations of Candrakīrti's major works contributed greatly to the predominance of the Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka position beginning in the twelfth century. But it was his skillful teaching also that made Candrakīrti's interpretations of Madhyamaka texts prevail. His skill in teaching Madhyamaka texts persuaded Shar-ba-pa, renowned as an excellent teacher himself, to entrust his own students to Nyi-ma-grags. One of Nyi-ma-grags's students, Rmya-bya-pa Byang-chub-brtson-'grus (or Rtsod-pa'i-seng-ge), who studied both Madhyamaka texts and the *Guhyasamāja* with him, paid homage to his teacher in the colophon to his commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ*, the *Dbu ma rtsa shes rab kyi 'grel pa 'thad pa'i rgyan*: "the brilliance of Nyi-ma-grags illumined, like the sun, the doctrinal position of the illustrious Candra[kīrti]."[26] Rmya-bya-pa Byang-chub-brtson-'grus originally had been a student of another influential teacher, Phya-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge, a critic of the Prāsaṅgikas who favored the Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka position.

Rngog Lo-tsā-ba had died young, at the age of fifty, in the very year that Phya-pa was born. He communicated his views on Svātantrika Madhyamaka to his student Rgya-dmar-pa Byang-chub-grags. Phya-pa studied with Rgya-dmar-pa Byang-chub-grags, who explained Madhyamaka according to the three eastern Svātantrika texts of Jñānagarbha, Śāntarakṣita and Ka-

malaśīla, and taught the Yogācāra teachings of Maitreya[nātha] in combination with Madhyamaka. Phya-pa once defeated in debate Jayānanda, an advocate of the Prāsaṅgika position and the author of a commentary on Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra*, at Gsang-phu Ne'u Monastery.[27] But despite this success, all of his major disciples later relinquished their support of his Svātantrika position in favor of the Prāsaṅgika position. His former disciple, Gtsang-nag-pa Brtson-'grus-seng-ge (?-1171) studied under Nyi-ma-grags and "became one of the most eloquent critics of Phya-pa's *Madhyamaka*" (Kuijp 1982: 69).

Four of Nyi-ma-grags's students, referred to as his "sons," spread his teachings on Madhyamaka throughout Central Tibet. These "sons" include Phya-pa's ex-disciple Rmya-bya-pa Byang-chub-brtson-'grus,[28] Gtsang-pa Sar-sbos, Ngar Yon-tan-grags (or Ngar-yul-ba Rin-chen-grags), and Zhang Thang-sag-pa Ye-shes-'byung-gnas. Rmya-bya-pa Byang-chub-brtson-'grus taught Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka in a monastery he established in Yar-klungs. His own Madhyamaka treatises continued to be studied at least until well into the fifteenth century. Sa-skya Paṇḍita became his student in 1200 (Kuijp 1982: 69; cf. 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba 1974: 305, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen 1975: 233). Gtsang-pa Sar-sbos established a school to teach this system in the Nyang region of Gtsang. But Ngar-yul Rin-chen-grags, despite his efforts in promulgating Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka, was unsuccessful in preserving the lineage (Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen 1975: 233-234). Zhang Thang-sag-pa also founded a school for religious study in Thang-sag, based on Nyi-ma-grags's work. Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen says:

> He relied upon the *lo-tsā-ba*'s notes (*mchan*) and outlines (*sa-bcad*) and wrote some commentaries. He also taught the three basic texts: the *Prasannapadā*, the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, and the *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā*. This [Madhyamaka instruction] continues uninterrupted to the present day.[29]

This account suggests that, in addition to his oral instructions, Nyi-ma-grags also left behind annotated work on Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka texts but unfortunately this does not survive.

Conclusion

Nyi-ma-grags's translations of Candrakīrti's works made available to Tibetan scholars for the first time the full range of his work. The translation of the *Prasannapadā* is especially significant because it is in the first chapter of this work that we find an extensive critique of Bhāvaviveka's Svātantrika position. Until Nyi-ma-grags translated this work and clearly differentiated Candrakīrti's interpretation of Madhyamaka from Bhāvaviveka's, there had been no solid foundation for distinguishing between the two. His lucid explanations of Candrakīrti's Prāsaṅgika interpretations of Nāgārjuna's and Āryadeva's works led many Tibetan scholars to adopt this point of view.

That there was still a continuing oral transmission of Prāsaṅgika, as well as written commentaries, undoubtedly helped this position prevail. The Yogācāra–[Svātantrika]–Madhyamaka position of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla that had been so successful during the first dissemination of Buddhism lost ground later because the oral tradition seems to have disappeared (see Kuijp 1982: 5 and 258, n. 8). At the time of the later dissemination of Buddhism, many of the Indian scholars with whom Tibetan translators studied in Kashmir and many of those who accompanied them back to Tibet were partisans of the Prāsaṅgika position. The lineage of the Thang–sag–pas includes several Kashmiri scholars: Ratnavajra, Parahita, and Hasumati (also known as Mahāsumati). The first Tibetan name of this list is Spa–tshab Lo–tsā–ba, who studied in Kashmir with Mahāsumati. Spa–tshab Nyi–ma–grags passed on these teachings to his student Zhang Thang–sag–pa, who in turn transmitted them to his students and so on. Gser–mdog Paṇ–chen traces this lineage from teachers in Dbus and Gtsang down to the Sa–skya scholars Rong–ston Shes–bya–kun–rigs (1367–1449) and Red–mda'–ba Gzhon–nu–dpal (1349–1412). Red–mda'–ba taught these philosophical teachings (*lta-khrid*) on Madhyamaka to the great Dge–lugs–pa scholar Tsong–kha–pa, whom Gser–mdog Paṇ–chen credits with making it widely known that only Candrakīrti's position provides the right view on *sūtra* and tantra.[30]

The verbal transmission lineage (*lung-gi brgyud-pa*) of Tsong–kha–pa similarly includes the Kashmiri scholars Hasumati and Kanakavarman, with whom Nyi–ma–grags worked on the translation of the *Prasannapadā*. Nyi–ma–grags provides the connecting link between this Indian tradition and subsequent Tibetan scholars.[31] Tsong–kha–pa's preference for Nyi–ma–grags's translations of Candrakīrti's texts underlines the importance of this translator's contribution to Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka studies in Tibet.

NOTES

1 Tsong-kha-pa, *Lam rim chen mo*, O 6001, ff. 371a-b. *gangs ri'i khrod kyi phyi dar gyi mkhas pa rnams dbu ma la thal 'gyur ba dang rang rgyud pa gnyis kyi tha snyad byed pa ni tshig gsal dang mthun pas rang bzor mi bsam mo.*

2 See Bu-ston 1971 xxiv: 881 (Obermiller 1932 ii: 186); 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba 1974: 41 (Roerich 1976: 41); Stein 1961: 9-10. As Tucci (1958 ii: 11) points out, the reading of Bu-ston's *Chos 'byung* (*rgya me mgo dang paṇḍita Ananta dang gsum*) is mistaken. Me-mgo is the name of a single individual; Tucci (*ibid.*: 10, 283) discusses the possible explanations for this unusual name. The *Sba bzhed*'s brief reference to *rgya mes mgo* and *rgya Ananta* has led J. Broughton (1983: 6-7 and 54, n. 24) to conclude that both were Chinese. However, *rgya* can stand for *rgya-gar* (India) as well as *rgya-nag* (China). Broughton (*ibid.*: 6-7), following Japanese scholarship on the *Sba bzhed*, claims that the texts brought back from China and hidden were Ch'an. But Tucci (*op. cit.*: 11), citing the *Chos 'byung* of Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag-'phreng-ba, identifies the texts as the *Vajracchedikā*, the *Śālistambha*, and the *Dge ba bcu'i mdo.*

3 Hopkins (1983: 532) identifies Padmasambhava as a Prāsaṅgika, based upon information received from the Rnying-ma scholar Khetsun Sangpo.

4 Bu-ston 1971 xxiv: 882-884 (Obermiller 1932 ii: 187-189); Tucci 1958 ii: 31. Ruegg (1981b: 88-93) briefly discusses his work; see p. 89, n. 284 for additional sources on Śāntarakṣita's stay in Tibet. On Padmasambhava's stay in Tibet, see Dargyay 1977: 31-38.

5 Katz 1976: 262-265; Dargyay 1977: 7-9. See Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan 1966: 181. *du ma'i lta ba/ ston min pa bya ba dang/ tsen min pa bya ba gnyis su byung nas/* (quoted by Dargyay 1977: 74, n. 30).

6 The old San Lun lineage, which includes Seng Chao whose views Dargyay suggests the Ho-shang upheld, came to an end with the death of Chi-tsang in 623. Although Hsien-shou subsequently began a new San Lun lineage, his school was never influential. See Robinson 1967: 166-167 and Chen 1964: 132-134. Katz (1976: 262-264), who refers to the "Chinese Fa-shang Mahāyāna" as a Prāsaṅgika, is certainly wrong. That some of the views stated in the three texts on which the Chinese version of Madhyamaka was based, the *Chung lun*, the *Shih er men lun*, and the *Pai lun*, the first two attributed to Nāgārjuna and the third to Āryadeva, run counter to the Svātantrika positions of Bhāvaviveka is not sufficient grounds for assuming that they must, then, be Prāsaṅgika positions. These San Lun texts were not only composed but also translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (344-413) well before the divergent views of Buddhapālita, Candrakīrti, and Bhāvaviveka were set down in their respective commentaries on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ.*

7 "It seems Saṅ śi = sBa dPal-dbyaṅs, the abbot of bSam-yas" (Broughton 1983: 6-7 and 54, n. 25).

8 Broughton 1983: 2–3, 41–45. He argues that later Tibetan historians, biased in favor of the Indian schools, downplayed the influence of Ch'an, which persisted in disguised form within the Rdzogs–chen tradition. On the relation between Ch'an and Rdzogs–chen, see also Tucci 1958 ii: 64–67, Tucci 1970: 14–15, and Dargyay 1977: 8–9.

9 Gómez 1983: 69–167. In the Tibetan Dunhuang fragments translated by Gómez, there are several quotations from the *Vajracchedikā* (pp. 126, 128–129) and the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* (pp. 128, 130); the teaching of the two truths is specifically mentioned as a Madhyamaka position (p. 116).

10 This committee compiled several lexicographical works of varying length: the *Kṣudravyutpatti*, now lost and known only through references in the colophons of the two surviving works, the *Madhyavyutpatti* and the *Mahāvyutpatti*. They set forth the principles of the "new language" (*skad gsar bcad*), upon which all earlier translations were to be revised and all subsequent translations based. See Simonsson 1957: 212 ff. and the review by Uray, *Acta Orientalia* 8: 327–332 (1958). Simonsson (*ibid.*: 238–280) translates sections of the *Madhyavyutpatti*. The *Mahāvyutpatti* has been edited by I.P. Minajev and N.D. Mironov in *Bibliotheca Buddhica* 13, St. Petersberg (1911), and by R. Sakaki, Suzuki Reprint Series, Tokyo (nd). The catalogue has been edited by S. Yoshimura, *The Denkar–ma*, Kyoto, 1950, and by M. Lalou, "Les textes bouddhiques aux temps de Khri sroṅ lde btsan," *Journal Asiatique* 241: 313–353 (1953).

11 Eight are commentaries on *sūtras*: the *Sandhinirmocana*, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the *Laṅkāvatāra*, the *Vajracchedikā*, and the **Dharmarāja*. Tucci (1958 ii: 49) identifies no. 613 as a Ch'an treatise of Dharmottaratāla.

12 Ye–śhes–sde collaborated with the Indian scholars Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, and Śīlendrabodhi on translations of Candrakīrti's *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti*, *Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti*, Śāntideva's *Śikṣasammuccaya*, Śrīgupta's *Tattvāvatāravṛtti*, Jñānagarbha's *Satyadvayavibhaṅgakārikāḥ* and autocommentary, and Śāntarakṣita's *Satyadvayavibhaṅgapañjikā*. Dpal–brtsegs collaborated with Sarvajñādeva on the translation of Śāntideva's *Bodhicāryāvatāra*. For further information, see Ruegg 1981b: 59; 1980: 277; and 1981a: 215–219. K. Mimaki (1983: 163) notes that in addition to the canonical version several fragments of Ye–shes–sde's texts have been discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts: PT (Pelliot) 814, 815; ST (Stein) 692, 694; also PT 820 and 2101. The *Lta ba'i rim pa* of Nyi–ma–'od as well as other anonymous Dunhuang fragments (ST 693; PT 116, 121, 817, 837, 842) use the classification Yogācāra Mādhyamika and Svātantrika Mādhyamika.

13 Gser–mdog Paṇ–chen 1975 iv: 232; Mkhas–grub–rje, *Rgyud sde spyi rnam* (Ed. F. Lessing and A. Wayman) 1968: 90, 92. See also Ruegg 1981b: 68–69, nn. 223–224 and Kuijp 1982: 286, n. 178.

14 Atiśa, *Bodhimārgadīpapañjikā*, O 5344, f. 323b. *'phags pa klu sgrub zhal gyi bdud rtsi des/ ār ya de ba zla grags bha bya dang/ zhi ba'i lha dang byang chub bzang po'i bar/ tshim par gyur pa bdag la'ang cung zhig 'thor/*

15 Thu–bkan Blo–bzang–chos–kyi–nyi–ma, in his *Grub mtha' thams cad kyi khungs dang dod tshul ston pa*, quoted by Chattopadyaya 1981: 396. See also Hopkins 1983: 432, 534.

16 Gser–mdog Paṇ–chen 1975: 233; Hopkins 1983: 534. In the *Satyadvayāvatāra*, Ruegg (1981b) says, "after referring to Bhāvaviveka's view that unconceptualizable reality may be known by *savikalpa* as well as by *nirvikalpa* knowledge, the author states that *śūnyatā* or *dharmatā* should be known in the way explained by Candrakīrti in the *Madhyamakāvatāra*."

17 On Rngog Lo–tsā–ba, see Kuijp 1982: 29–48 and 57.

18 Gser–mdog Paṇ–chen, *Tshad ma'i mdo dang bstan bcos kyi shing rta'i srol rnams ji ltar byung ba'i tshul gtam bya ba nyin mor byed pa'i snang bas dpyod ldan mtha' dag dga' bar byed pa*, partially edited and translated by Kuijp 1982: 55–56. Thurman (1984: 54) says that Rngog Lo translated Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* and *Madhyamakāvatāra* but does not give the source of this information.

19 Bu–ston 1971 xxiv: 908. *pa tshab nyi ma grags kyis kyang kha cher lo nyi shu rtsa gsum sbyangs te paṇḍita kanakavarma spyan drangs te dbu ma'i skor rnams bsgyur bshad pas ....*

20 Candrakīrti, *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā*, O 5266: f. 273b. *rgya gar gyi mkhan po su kṣma dzā na zhes bya ba gdung rabs grangs med par paṇḍi ta brgyud ma'i rigs su sku 'khrungs pa bram ze chen po rin chen rdo rje'i dpon po bram ze chen po saddzā na'i sras ....* Dietz (1984: 62, n. 161), who translates this passage, questions the use of the term *dpon po*: "der Enkel(!)," but Uebach (1980: 305) suggests that *dpon* may be used for both grandson and great–grandson. Dietz (1984: 272-301), who edits and translates Sajjana's letters (*putralekha*) to his sons, briefly discusses the author and his family (*ibid.*: 61–63).

21 On Ratnavajra, his students and descendents, see Nadou 1968: 139 ff. Ruegg (1969: 39–46) discusses Sajjana's teaching and translations of Maitreya[nātha]'s works. One of Gser–mdog Paṇ–chen's treatises, quoted in Kuijp 1982: 33, states that Rngog Lo–tsā–ba studied under Ratnavajra. But this seems unlikely, unless we credit the latter with an exceptionally long life. Other sources cite Ratnavajra's grandson Sajjana as his teacher.

22 The colophons actually refer to the king as *'phags–pa lha* (= *āryadeva*), "the noble king (*deva*)," rather than Harṣadeva. On this king, see Nadou 1968: 170 ff.

23 'Gos Lo–tsā–ba 1974: 304. *de nas dbu ma'i 'chad nyan legs par tshugs te gra ba mang du bskyangs/ rtsa 'jug bzhi gsum/ rigs pa drug bcu rnams kyi slob dpon zla bas mdzad pa'i 'grel pa rnams legs par bsgyur zhing/.* Roerich (1976: 342) misses the reference to the *Catuḥśataka*. Cf. Gser–mdog Paṇ–chen 1975: 233.

24 Tauscher 1982: 296–301; he cites examples of these two translations, *ibid.*: 297, n. 9.

25 'Gos Lo–tsā–ba 1974: 305 (Roerich 1976: 342–343; cf. 365–366). *sgyur byed bzang bar grags pa rin chen bzang po ltas/ bsgyur zhus gtan la phab par rlom yang ji lta bzhin/ min par mthong nas nyi ma grags kyis legs bsgyur ba'i/.* Western scholars consider this the work of a second Candrakīrti. See Ruegg 1981b: 105 and n. 334; and Wayman 1977: 84–93.

26 Rmya–bya–pa 1975: 310. *dpal ldan zla ba'i ring lugs 'dzin pa la/ nyi ma ltar gsal nyi ma grags pa'i dpal/.* Rmya–bya–pa wrote commentaries on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ*, the *Prasannapadā*, the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, Bhāvaviveka's *Madhyamakārthasaṁgraha* and the *Tarkamudrakārikās* of Jayānanda, but with the exception of his commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ*, *Dbu ma rtsa shes rab kyi 'grel pa 'thad pa'i rgyan*, these early Tibetan Prāsaṅgika commentaries on Madhyamaka texts, seem not to have survived. See 'Gos Lo–tsā–ba 1974: 305 (Roerich 1976: 342). Kuijp (1982: 300, n. 268) lists the following works: *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāṭīkā*, *Prasannapadā–stong–thun–ṭīkā*, *Dbu ma stong thun*, *Dbu ma bsdus pa*, *Tarkamudgarakārikāṭīkā*, *Madhyamakāvatāra–bsdus–don*, and *Madhyamakāvatāra–mchan–bu.*

27 Gser–mdog Paṇ–chen 1975: 233, 235. On Phya–pa, see Kuijp 1982: 60–68; 299, n. 259 lists his Madhyamaka works; n. 260 gives an account of the debate.

28 Gser–mdog Paṇ–chen 1975: 233–234; 'Gos Lo–tsā–ba (1974: 305 [Roerich 1976: 342]) has Rmya–bya Byang–chub–ye–shes. Thurman (1984: 63) indicates that both Byang–chub–ye–shes and Brtson–'grus–seng–ge (Phya–pa's ex–student) as well as Shākya–seng–ge were Spa–tshab's disciples and abbots of the Rmya–bya Monastery near Sa–skya.

29 Gser–mdog Paṇ–chen 1975: 234. *lo tsā ba'i mchan dang sa bcad la brten/ khong rang gis kyang rnam bshad ci rigs pa mdzad de ding sang gi bar du rgyud ma chad/ de yang rtsa 'jug gzhi* [read: *bzhi*] *gsum gyi gzhung bshad/.* According to the *Deb ther sngon po* ('Gos Lo–tsā–ba 1974: 305), Zhang Thang composed commentaries on the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Catuḥśataka* but none seem to have survived.

30 Gser–mdog Paṇ–chen 1975: 235; on the lineage of the Zhang Thang–pas, see also 'Gos Lo–tsā–ba 1974: 306 (Roerich 1976: 344).

31 Tsong–kha–pa's *Gsan yig*, cited in Thurman 1984: 62–63 and n. 84.

TWO NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF THE *CHOS–'BYUNG* OF BU–STON RIN–CHEN–GRUB

JÁNOS SZERB†

Although the *chos–'byung* (written 1322) of Bu–ston (1290–1364) and its translation by Obermiller (1932) is frequently quoted in the secondary literature, a thorough study of Bu–ston's sources has yet to be written.[1] The aim of this paper will be to discuss the origins and textual background of two data found in the famous history.

In general, it would appear that Bu–ston follows several frequently contradictory traditions, seeking occasionally to resolve the discrepancies in his sources, albeit in some instances without success. Due to the fact, however, that he hardly ever refers to his sources, one often remains undecided as to whether his information is to be traced back to a specific tradition, or whether it genuinely reflects his own attitudes. There are still allusions whose actual content is a considerable muddle.

It appears to me that Bu–ston was familiar with the tradition represented by the *chos–'byung* of Nyang Ral–pa–can (1124/1136–1204).[2] My restriction to the *chos–'byung* is due to the fact that there is some confusion regarding the texts compiled and discovered by Nyang Ral–pa–can. To give but one example, a book entitled on the cover boards *Chos rgyal mes dbon rnam gsum gyi rnam thar rin po che'i 'phreng ba* (front title in full: *Mi rje lhas mdzad byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po chos rgyal mes dbon rnam gsum gyi rnam par thar pa rin po che'i 'phreng ba zhes bya ba*) is said to have been written by Nyang Ral–pa–can.[3] Unfortunately, one page that may be decisive for the interpretation of the colophon, namely the next–to–last folio (111a–b), is missing. In any case, the name of the *btsun–pa* Shākya–rin–chen dominates on the last page; Nyang Ral–pa–can is not even mentioned and the title in the colophon differs slightly from the one indicated in the beginning.[4]

Insofar as the difficulties of the proper interpretation of Nyang Ral–pa–can's chronicle are concerned, the obscurity of some passages may rather reflect, I think, our insufficient knowledge of the text itself, and future research will certainly throw more light upon it. I refer, for example, to troubles in reading some clumsy word–compounds in *dbu–med*, comparing self–contradictory data, etc.[5] Less easy to specify is the exact nature of the relationship between the main text and the brief addendum at the end. In the case of MS. B, one might even argue that it actually represents the concluding portion of NYANG. Nevertheless, the addendum is clearly defined

† The editors note with sadness the passing of János Szerb in October, 1988.

in the Berlin manuscript.[6] In addition, the addendum has a great number of references that cannot be reconciled with the data of the basic text. Whether the addendum was written by Nyang Ral–pa–can or by someone else, and if so by whom, is open to speculation. One should also note that the name of Nyang Ral–pa–can recurs in the addendum.[7] It is a rather well–known fact that in his *chos–'byung*, Bu–ston attributes the name of Mang–srong–mang–btsan, instead of Gung–srong–gung–btsan, to the son of Srong–btsan–sgam–po. Some other historical works dependent on the authority of Bu–ston, like the *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* (1538) of Bsod–nams–grags–pa (1478–1554) and the *La dwags rgyal rabs* (1610–1640, finally completed in 1886), establish the same order of succession (Obermiller 1932: 194; Tucci 1971: 150; Petech 1939: 54). In Bu–ston's case, Tucci ascribed the inversion of names to a copyist's error, since it is contradicted by the documents found in Dunhuang and by the early Sa–skya–pa sources.[8]

The peculiar inversion of the names of Srong–btsan–sgam–po's son and grandson is, however, also attested in Nyang Ral–pa–can's *chos–'byung*. At the end of Srong–btsan–sgam–po's biography we are informed that his son was Mang–srong–mang–btsan. When the latter reached age thirteen, his son, i.e., Gung–srong–gung–btsan, was born to him. Soon after (the date is not specified), the father (Mang–srong) died.[9]

This information is fairly muddled and it might be ascribed to the confusion of some particulars known from other *chos–'byung*. In fact, the age of thirteen is usually accepted in other texts as the date for the enthronement of Srong–btsan–sgam–po's son. According to these accounts, Gung–srong–gung–btsan ascended the throne at age thirteen and ruled for five years. Then Srong–btsan–sgam–po ruled again until Mang–srong–mang–btsan completed his thirteenth year.[10] At this point, whether crucial or coincidental, the very fact that neither Nyang Ral–pa–can nor Bu–ston have anything to say about the second term of Srong–btsan–sgam–po in their records is an enigma needing further research.[11] The text goes on to narrate the lives of Khri–lde–gtsug–btsan and his sons. According to a cryptic reference in Nyang, Khri–lde–gtsug–rtsan (var. –btsan), alias (Mes–) Ag–tshom (var.–rtsom) is said to be the son of Gung–srong–gung–btsan. To be sure, it is rather a moot point, if not a text corruption.[12]

In our second example, the textual dependence of Bu–ston on another source is more manifest. Describing the life of the famous Bla–chen Dgongs–pa–rab–gsal, Bu–ston puts the following words in his mouth (p. 896):

> *de nas bla chen gyi zhal nas lo ston mthu che bas bstan srung gyis/ klu mes btsun pas mkhan po gyis/ tshong dge blo rno bas ston pa gyis/ 'bring bskos mkhas pas gnas gzhi zungs gsungs so//*[13]

The ultimate origin of the passage is unknown to me, but variations of the archetype are also attested in much earlier texts, e.g., in Nyang Ral–pa–

can's *chos–'byung*[14] and in the *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo* (1167)[15] of the famous Sa–skya *bla–ma* Bsod–nams–rtse–mo (1142–1182).[16] A close parallel to Bu–ston is provided in the quotation by Bsod–nams–rtse–mo,[17] but as to whether Bu–ston's presentation is to be regarded as a paraphrase of Bsod–nams–rtse–mo's text or is based on a slightly different account remains undecided.

The passage above is cited to exemplify the difficulties concerning the proper evaluation of Bu–ston's data. At first sight, the actual presentation of Dgongs–pa–rab–gsal's instructions to his disciples may seem to be the genuine wording of Bu–ston himself. It goes without saying that it is, in fact, an excerpt or a paraphrase taken from a text of remote antiquity. The true indications of Bu–ston's data can be studied in a comprehensive way if they are conclusively compared with the evidence of as many sources as possible.[18]

NOTES

1 The *Maṇi bka' 'bum* and the *Sba bzhed* are usually referred to; see Aris 1979: 24 ff. and Tucci 1958: 10 ff., respectively. My intention is to introduce some sources that may help to interpret Bu–ston's data. See also note 18.

2 NYANG designates the text itself as published by Meisezahl 1985. If not otherwise stated, references are made to plate (= pl. "Tafel"), page of plate and line. Unfortunately, the index compiled by Meisezahl is quite incomplete and often misleading. I could have checked the two variants (MS. A and MS. B, Paro 1979) but for reasons of space and time. Needless to say, I make no pretence of having understood all the minute details of the text. To be sure, the title of the chronicle, the name of its author, etc., are not recorded by Bu–ston.

3 The text was published as the seventh volume of the *Rin chen gter mdzod chen po'i rgyab chos*, Paro 1980. Nyang Ral Nyi–ma–'od–zer is indicated as the author in most libraries. The mistake is probably due to the error of the Bhutanese publisher; see also NYANG: 10. I am indebted to Prof. A.M. Blondeau for calling my attention to the wrong attribution of authorship to Nyang Ral–pa–can.

4 In the colophon Shākya–rin–chen is said to belong to the 'Bri–gung–pa sect. We are also informed here that he is the owner of the text and then follows the title (p. 112a): *Btsun pa shākya rin chen ces bya ba'i dpe/ chos rgyal mes dbon rnams kyi rnam par thar pa/ rin po che'i sgron me zhes bya ba/ rdzogs so// dge'o// bkra shis so//.*

I am somewhat uncertain as to how the expression the "text (or book, copy, etc.) of Shākya–rin–chen" is to be understood. Normally, it would mean that he is the author of the text. Due to the missing folio, however, it is best not to rush to any conclusions. The person in question might be identical with Shākya–rin–chen, the *sgom–pa* of 'Bri–gung, a contemporary of Sa–skya Paṇḍita. See, e.g., Roerich 1949: 577 ff. and Tucci 1959: 631, 652, 690 ff. for a summary of events; cf. also Wylie 1977: 107.

As far as I can judge, the chronicle has many similar passages, sometimes agreeing *verbatim* with Nyang Ral–pa–can's *chos–'byung*. Nevertheless, a number of data are also found that directly oppose the facts as known from Nyang Ral–pa–can's *chos–'byung*. Still, the two narratives, together with the *Sba bzhed* and the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* are closely related to one another.

5 For instance, according to Nyang, King Khri–lde–srong–btsan Sad–na–legs was born in a *me–pho–khyi* year and died at the age of fifty–four in *me–bya*. The calculation is incorrect if the last two dates are accepted. Since both are accepted in other texts, he must have been born in *shing–pho–'brug*; see NYANG, pl. 301.1.4 ff. King Ral–pa–can's dates are also in error, but a discussion of them is beyond the limits of this article.

6 NYANG, pl. 353–366. The colophon of the copyist, missing in MS. B, is inserted between the main text and the addendum. See NYANG, pl. 351.3–352.3; cf. also Meisezahl's introduction, pp. 10, 12.

7 NYANG, pl. 363.2.6 ff., 365.1.4., etc.

8 Tucci 1947: 462, n. 2 and in the table. Although his translation of the chronicles of Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan (1142–1216) and of 'Phags–pa (1235–1280) and the edition of both (Tucci 1971: 127–135) are not without error, they are still of use. In accordance with the data from the Dunhuang materials, GRAGS: 197b2) mentions Gung–srong–gung–btsan as the son of Srong–btsan–sgam–po. In all likelihood, the same person is referred to in the annals of 'Phags–pa (1275), although the name appears here in a slightly distorted form, Chung–srong, probably due to a printer's error ('PHAGS: 360b5). Apparently, Sum–pa mkhan–po (1704–1788) also used the Derge edition of the SA for his *Dpag bsam ljon bzang* (1748), since in his quotation of 'PHAGS, the somewhat odd form (viz., Chung–srong) recurs; see Das 1908: 153.

For a summary of the Dunhuang documents concerning the succession after Srong–btsan–sgam–po, see Chang 1959: 126. The Chinese rendering of Mang–srong/slon–mang–btsan's name is yet to be explained; see Haarh 1969: 62.

9 NYANG, pl. 197.2.3 ff.; the correct order is given in the addendum, pl. 361.2.6 ff. The names of the mothers of Mang–srong and Gung–srong are not given. More precisely, the name of Mong–bza' Khri–btsun is mentioned, but it is not indicated that she was also the mother of Mang–srong–mang–btsan; see, e.g., pl. 194.2.1. As regards Srong–btsan–sgam–po's Nepalese wife, I cannot accept Tucci's arguments, namely, "we must be very sceptical...and maintain a critical view concerning the Nepalese wife. The only text which might decide if in older chronicles there was mention of K'ri btsun is the *Hu lan deb t'er*" (Tucci 1962: 611). Apart from the fact that the *Hu lan deb ther*, i.e., the chronicle of Tshal–pa Kun–dga'–rdo–rje (1309–1364) commonly known as the *Deb ther dmar po* (1346; see also Bira 1984: 61), is later than Bu–ston's text (Tucci obviously used the latter), the name of the Nepalese queen is often cited by Nyang Ral–pa–can. Due to the lack of reliable information, I think, we are not yet in the position to settle the dispute over the Nepalese wife; see my forthcoming publication *On the Nepalese Wife of Srong btsan sgam po.*

10 See, for instance, 'PHAGS: 360b.

11 A minor son of Srong–btsan–sgam–po is, however, mentioned in NYANG, pl. 194.2.2. As for Gung–srong–gung–btsan, Nyang briefly relates that he built temples etc., but no further vital information is given; see NYANG, pl. 197.2.4 ff. Srong–btsan–sgam–po's second term is even mentioned in such a text as the *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* which otherwise follows Bu–ston (Tucci 1971: 149).

12 NYANG, pl. 197.2.5. Khri 'Dus–srong Mang–po–rje is correctly indicated as his father in the addendum, pl. 361.2.6 ff.

13 Edition in Chandra 1971: 896/5 ff.; translation in Obermiller 1932: 203.

14 NYANG, pl. 334.1. *mkhan po'i zhal nas bkos su spring<s> pa/ klu mes mkhan btsun pas mkhan* (pl. 333.2) *po gyis/ 'bring skoḍ* (= *skogs* for *bskos* ?) *mkhas pas gnas rten gyis/ lo* [*b*]*ston mthu che bas bstan pa bsrungs/ tshong*

<shes rab> senge blo rno (*:sno*) *bas ston pa gyis la chos shoḍ* (*=shogs*)*/ sum pa ma* (for *la* ?) *khyed raḍ* (*=rags*) *yang bsgrub pa gyis gsungs...*

N.B. Symbols used in the Tibetan

[ ] to be deleted	< > to be added
(:) the original is to be rejected	(=) interpreted as

15 On the CHOS, see also Vostrikov 1970: 38–39, 101–103; Macdonald 1971: 192 ff., 202 ff.; Szerb 1983: 380–382. The text (p. 313b) reads: *de'i tshe mkhan pos springs pa/ lo ston mthu ches bstan pa srungs// klu* (*:slu*) *mes btsun pas mkhan po gyis// tshong ge blo rno ston par bsko// 'bring du skyong mkhan gnas rten* (*:brtan*) *gyis// zhes gdams...*

16 The passage, again in slightly different form, is also quoted in the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (1545–1565) of Dpa'–bo Gtsug–lag–'phreng–ba (1504–1566) (Chandra 1959, part 1: 121–122): *mkhan slob na re lo ston mthu che bas bstan pa srungs/ klu mes btsun pas mkhan po gyis/ tshong ge blo rno bas chos ston/ 'bring pho sgo* (?) *mtho bas gnas brtan gyis la gzhi gar bsdoms pas gnas gzhi cig zung zhig gsungs....* Some lines earlier a reference is made to the *Lo rgyus chen mo*, but the end of the quotation from that text is not clearly defined. Therefore, I am unclear as to whether our passage is meant to be included in the citation. To be sure, more than one book has the same title. Dpa'–bo may be referring to the "Great Annals" of Khu–ston Brtson–'grus–g.yung–drung (1011–1075). Khu–ston's work is occasionally cited in his *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*; see Tucci 1958: 19; Uray 1967: 499.

17 It is, of course, not really surprising that Bu–ston had direct access to the texts of the early Sa–skya–pa masters. For instance, he quotes the chronological calculations of Bsod–nams–rtse–mo, or, more precisely, the biography of Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan (1147–1216) compiled in 1216 by Sa–skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251); which, however, simply reproduces Bsod–nams–rtse–mo's text; see Obermiller 1932: 106; CHOS: 315b–316a. On Sa–skya Paṇḍita's text, see Vostrikov 1970: 103–104.

18 I hope to compile a comprehensive survey of Bu–ston's sources for my forthcoming critical edition of his *chos–'byung*.

WHOM IS TSONG-KHA-PA REFUTING IN HIS *BASIC PATH TO AWAKENING*?[1]

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Tsong-kha-pa's Sources

The commentary by Tsong-kha-pa (1357–1419) to the Chapter on Ethics bears the short title *Basic Path to Awakening*.[2] That chapter (number ten of twenty-eight) of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* (hereafter BBH) of Asaṅga (third–fourth centuries) presents the bodhisattva's perfection of morality; it includes a ceremony for taking the bodhisattva "vow of ethics" (*śīla-saṁvara*), the obligations entailed by the vow, and infractions of it; its pattern is the *prātimokṣa* of the Buddhist monastic.

The Chapter is thus central to the BBH, systematically presenting teachings of the primary sources (the *sūtras*) on what makes a bodhisattva. The Chapter circulated independently and was the subject of separate commentary in India. According to Tsong-kha-pa, it is an easy introduction to the bodhisattva career, as compared to the BBH as a whole: it is taught independently for those of little experience and inferior powers of apprehension and diligence. He points out in the same place (P 4a) that such preliminary trainings are absolutely essential to attainment of the further goal — supreme awakening.

Discussing his sources at the end of the work (P 89a), Tsong-kha-pa designates the Chapter on Ethics to be "initially most important." Because of its centrality to the BBH, the BBH might well be used for explication of it. Tsong-kha-pa does in fact cite five other chapters in the course of his work, as well as the *Śrāvaka-bhūmi* of the *Yogācāra-bhūmi* (hereafter YBH) and several YBH summaries bearing on the BBH. He also quotes the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra* of Maitreya/Asaṅga (for references, see the appendix). But Tsong-kha-pa opines that if the Chapter were to be traced systematically to its wider context, his commentary would expand indefinitely; so he has followed traditional Indian treatises (*śāstra*) on the subject, as well as primary scriptural sources.

As primary sources Tsong-kha-pa mentions (in that same passage) four treatises that bear directly upon the Chapter: two commentaries to the BBH by Guṇaprabha and Samudramegha, and two commentaries to the Chapter on Ethics by Jinaputra and Samudramegha. This last he refers to as "the commentary attributed to Samudramegha," observing that the author is not the same as the Samudramegha mentioned above. Nearly as often as not, Tsong-kha-pa cites the "attribution" as presenting views that are incorrect. Although it is no longer extant, we can observe further that

it was manufactured in Tibet. For example, "Samudra" discusses an issue that arises from a defect of the Tibetan translation of the BBH — why nun-probationer (*śikṣamāṇā*) is omitted from the list of *prātimokṣa* classes (P 9a and n. 41). Then again, Samudra responds (correctly, as it happens) to a controversy — how many times one may retake the vow after failures — that is only known to have arisen in Tibet (P 85b). The BBH commentary by Samudramegha merely repeats the comments of Jinaputra, with minor variants.

Important sources for exegesis of the Chapter not mentioned in that passage of acknowledgment are a twenty-verse mnemonic condensation of the Chapter by Candragomin, and expansion of those verses by Śāntarakṣita and Bodhibhadra.

Acknowledged are Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (hereafter SS) and Prajñākaramati's commentary to the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva. The eighth-century SS constitutes an alternate system of bodhisattva ethics; its relationship to the system of Asaṅga is subject to debate, and Tsong-kha-pa takes pains to incorporate it into his monograph, in that respect following the late Indian systematizing tradition.

Late scholiasts including Jñānaśrīmitra and Dīpaṁkaraśrījñāna (a.k.a. Atīśa) exerted strong influence upon Tsong-kha-pa's predecessors, the "Kadampa geshes." Some of the geshes are named as sources; others are joined to the category of "some Tibetans."

The *Basic Path* thus fits comfortably into the tradition of Indo-Tibetan exegesis, as the most comprehensive account of the subject. Yet Tsong-kha-pa is not slavish as a commentator; he freely admits to abbreviating or even skipping some lengthy, redundant, or questionable explanations of the BBH-commentaries (as at P 8a). Nor does he hesitate to question or correct them, although material from the primary commentaries is generally cited as doctrine, often without attribution. All his sources he cites as correct or incorrect, or as presenting an interesting but notionally neutral or unverified view.

Differences from his predecessors on details do not consitute refutation of false views such as this paper aims to expose. As an instance of details, at P 6b Tsong-kha-pa draws upon the "source text" (the BBH) and Candragomin to correct "certain commentaries" (Jinaputra = Samudramegha) in classifying the four qualities of ethics. And at P 8b his own reasoning leads him to disagree with the (same) commentators on the question of why ethics has three aspects. Later writers are corrected somewhat more frequently, with the notable exceptions of Śāntarakṣita, Śāntideva, and Atīśa.

Nor is refutation more than rhetorical when in the course of discussion Tsong-kha-pa presents objections (*'o-na*): these come not from any schools or individual; perhaps they represent classroom debate among the Kadampas.

One should not in fact take the impression that the tone or substance of the *Basic Path to Awakening* is that of debate: the work is, as its author states, an exposition for novice bodhisattvas. The very didacticism, however, contains polemical strains that are unmistakable. These are found in the opening and closing verses and scattered throughout; the very title of the work hints at it. To bring the study of Mahāyāna ethics up to date, Tsong–kha–pa must presume a tantric context — this is his primary concern. Secondarily, he must refute certain systematically erroneous (as he considers them) theories held by scholars of the Sakya school.

Morally Degenerate Tantrics

In the polemical frame, Tsong–kha–pa makes some forceful, even vitriolic comments on the approach to Buddhist practice taken by some of his contemporaries. Clearly, the work is composed in order to establish that bodhisattva ethics should form the basic path of Buddhism in Tibet.

This argument is found in the introductory verses (P 3b):

> Among those who claim to be Greater Vehicle,
> Some wink at the do's and don'ts
> Prescribed for the *jinas*' disciples.

And in the prose expansion that follows, he argues against the view that "to take the bodhisattva vow and put its training into practice is to participate in the vehicle of the perfections, but it is not necessary in order to undertake the tantra" (P 4b–5a).

He reprises the theme in the concluding verses (P 98a–b):

> To say, as some do, though not training as bodhisattvas,
> That they yet have a path to the omniscient state,
> Though not proposed by the buddhas, their sons or the learned,
> That the vajra vehicle and that of the perfections
> Differ in prohibitions and in their injunctions
> Is the height of folly, merely a flight of fancy....
> If you set about to enter the vajra vehicle,
> First create the thought of awakening and take the vow...,
> And then the path of Vajrayāna in addition.
> That is the best–vehicle path that is not deficient;
> Others only delight those who are foolish.

There are of course no Tibetan schools that maintain that a tantric need not be a "bodhisattva" in the sense of having generated the altruistic "thought of awakening" (*bodhicitta*). On the other hand, it is not plain that the trainings ("prohibitions and injunctions") that are entailed by the vows of Vajrayāna and Mahāyāna, not to mention the Prātimokṣa, are not different. Prātimokṣa entails the five lay precepts (non–murder, etc.) and the codes for various classes of monastic (beginning with celibacy). Bodhisattva trainings are encompassed by the three aspects of ethics or the six perfec-

tions of the Chapter on Ethics. Vajrayāna "pledges" (*samaya*) legislate the practices of tantric yoga, beginning with "not slandering one's guru."[3]

Nevertheless, bodhisattva ethics is taken to fulfill Prātimokṣa as the first of its three aspects, and Vajrayāna is presumed to encompass the bodhisattva path, so the three interpenetrate in a hierarchical order. The details of their interrelationship are subject to a good deal of scholastic discussion, and Tsong-kha-pa cites Jñānaśrīmitra and Atīśa as authoritative in that regard.

In the passages cited above Tsong-kha-pa is insisting that one must devote oneself to actual practice of the bodhisattva path, including *prātimokṣa* and the six perfections, as preliminary to the practice of Vajrayāna. He is not compelled by the arguments of the older schools that individuals of superior capacity are, by virtue of practice in previous lifetimes, prepared to undertake tantric yoga directly, upholding the lower vows only implicitly.[4] Tsong-kha-pa insists upon explicit implementation of the bodhisattva vow:

> In other words, when taking the Vajrayāna-vow, it is necessary to generate the thought (of awakening), then to secure yourself to the promise to train in the three aspects of ethics, and only thereafter to take the (tantric) vow of the five families (P 5a).

That Tsong-kha-pa has practice uppermost in his mind, rather than doctrinal interpretation, is clear in the opening verses cited above: with criticism of tantrics who fail to hold to bodhisattva ethics is linked criticism of Buddhists who recite texts but neglect to practice them. The latter is a minor theme, however, and in other places Tsong-kha-pa defends reciters (P 52a and n. 300; P 53a and n. 303). Chiefly, he is concerned with moral laxity. In the view of a Gelugpa historian of later times:

> When our elder brother (Atīśa) came to Tibet, there were many monastics, but some among them [practiced] sex and murder. Some neglected the practice side, maintaining that liberation comes only from the view of emptiness; others had faith only in Vinaya and disliked the practice of bodhisattva trainings and of mantras; others adhered to tantras without considering the Prātimokṣa. In the time of these and other dharma-rejectionists and violent ones, he promulgated the *Lamp of the Path* treatise, in which all the paths are noncontradictory....
>
> (Sum-pa mkhan-po 1908: 185–86)

Particular trainings, however, do seem to present contradictions. Most noticeably, the sexual yoga of some tantras contradicts the monastic's vow of continence. Some treatises of non-Gelugpa schools in the genre of *three vows* devote considerable space to justification of the higher yoga.[5] This is

referred to by Tsong–kha–pa as "polluting the Teacher's dispensation with the sewage of their sordid preoccupations" (P 68b).

In the *Lamp of the Path*, contradiction among the paths is avoided by denying sexual yoga to ordained monastics.[6] Tsong–kha–pa follows Atīśa in underlining the importance of the monastic state at every opportunity. In so doing, he does violence to a conspicuous theme of the Chapter on Ethics — the democratization of lay and monastic. For example, the BBH suggests that the bodhisattva may confess misdeeds to a person who is either lay or monastic, but Tsong–kha–pa at this point (P 85b) insists that a monk should confess only to a monk. He says much the same, in the face of the BBH, in regard to taking the vow, and in this he is following Jñānaśrīmitra (TS: P 34a; O 4546: 252a.7–8).

> Adherence to Prātimokṣa, of which celibacy is the first guideline, is of primary concern. At P 68b, Tsong–kha–pa also says: These Prātimokṣa precepts are shared. Being unaware of that, one might say of them: "We are bodhisattvas. We are tantrics. Even should we 'supersede' them, the latter status will purify us." They say this and proceed to grow lax.

Such "supersedence" derives from a set of guidelines in the Chapter on Ethics. In the interpretation by Sa–skya Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan (1147–1216) of the three aspects of ethics:

> When the ethics of the vow intersects that of collecting virtuous dharmas, he chiefly practices collecting virtuous dharmas. When the latter intersects accomplishing the welfare of sentient beings, he chiefly practices accomplishing the welfare of sentient beings.
>
> (Tatz 1982: 37–38)

Examples adduced by Asaṅga (TS: P 70b–71b) include the slaying of a potential mass murderer and the "theft" of power from a tyrannical government. Sa–skya Paṇḍita Kun–dga'–rgyal–mtshan (1182–1251) goes even further in his "three vows" work when he asserts that the two modes of ethics — Prātimokṣa and bodhisattva — are contradictory:

> Most virtues of the auditor are bodhisattva vices;
> Whereas bodhisattva virtues function as auditors's vice.
>
> (*Sdom gsum*: 9b.3–4)

The position of Mnga'–ris Paṇḍita (who may not know Tsong–kha–pa but seems to know the Sakya authors)[7] is that the person of middling capacity takes hold of the Prātimokṣa, and on top of that generates the thought of awakening — which is "a limb of the tantra" (Mnga'–ris: 15a.6–b.1; Chos–kyi–dbang–phyug: 92b.3–5; Dharmaśrī: 582.1f). Generation of the thought is not identical to taking the vow with all its enactments, however, and under

those lines Dharmaśrī (who does know Tsong–kha–pa) refers to the various trainings as being particular to each vow (582.5) — just the sort of phrasing criticized by Tsong–kha–pa.

In the system of Mnga'–ris the three vows are not fused to quite the extent that they are in the system of Tsong–kha–pa. The three have differing objects in terms of the blockage (*dgag–bya*) of defilement and the positive goal (*dgos–pa*) of freedom from defilement. Counteracting their particular objects, they constitute different paths, yet they are essentially one; they transmute (*gnas–'gyur*) one into the next at stages of progress. Importantly, they should not be mixed (Mnga'–ris: 14b.6–15a.1; Chos–kyi–dbang–phyug: 89a.5f; Dharmaśrī: 566.4f). Mnga'–ris goes on to stipulate that the higher take precedence over the lower (P 15a.3–4). When injunctions and prohibitions are superseded, the lower are included in the higher and purified by it (Dharmaśrī: 571.5f).

Dharmaśrī prefaces the presentation of this position with a set of analogies distinguishing it from views like those criticized by Tsong–kha–pa. Supersedure is not a case of the higher overcoming the lower like the light of stars, moon, and sun (564.5). Nor is it a case of the lower acting as basis for the higher, like placing an emerald into clean water in a clear bowl (565.4). Rather, "the former transmute into the latter" (567.2), as by smelting copper ore one gets copper, and by applying philosopher's stone to it one gets gold (568.2–3).

That position is not the center of the target aimed at by Tsong–kha–pa. Mnga'–ris himself criticizes contemporaries who invent their own systems and fail to recognize the noncontradiction of sūtra and tantra (15b.2–4; Chos–kyi–dbang–phyug: 93a.2; Dharmaśrī: 584.6–586.4). His difference from Tsong–kha–pa is that of emphasis. Mnga'–ris addresses his work to the "middling" sort of disciple; perhaps he would say that the *Basic Path* is addressed to the "lowest," who must pay especial attention to common morality.

The question of the relation of Prātimokṣa to the bodhisattva vow did not arise in Tibet: it is an issue of the Chapter on Ethics itself, which lays out three guidelines. These are summarized by three lines of the *Twenty Verses* (TS: P 67a–72b):

(a) the bodhisattva must keep the Vinaya rules as the auditor does;

(b) the bodhisattva should break those rules when the welfare of others is at stake (for example, collecting wealth for redistribution);

(c) the bodhisattva should (or "may," according to Tsong–kha–pa) break "natural morality" as well (murder, and so forth) for the greater good of others ("With mercy there is no [deed] without virtue").

Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan regards this last as a "permission" (Tatz 1982: 38-39), and Tsong-kha-pa decries that designation (P 48b). Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan further demonstrates that Prātimokṣa cannot be a basis for the bodhisattva vow — for its creation or its maintenance. Prātimokṣa cannot serve as basis for its creation, for then only human beings (who count monasticism among their unique blessings) would be able to generate the thought of awakening. Nor can Prātimokṣa serve for its maintenance, because it is relinquished upon transmigration, whereas the bodhisattva vow lasts until buddhahood is obtained; furthermore, the bodhisattva vow is not lost when Prātimokṣa is broken by an act such as murder when the deed is done from compassion.

Tsong-kha-pa describes two sets of views on the matter: Prātimokṣa is a basis and Prātimokṣa is not a basis. He then exposes the faults of both positions (P 10b-12b). Citing Indian sources, he shows that Prātimokṣa, and the monastic state in particular, is a desirable precondition to taking the bodhisattva vow, although not necessary in theory.

Mistaken Sakya Scholars

The Sakyapa are not of themselves, of course, regarded as degenerate tantrics, nor is the school of Mnga'-ris. But in the opinion of the Gelugpa, their wrong views lay a poor foundation for dharma practice. A limited "permission" for murder or sex tends to degenerate into lax morals. In the oral folklore of Tsong-kha-pa's life, he is debating with a Sakya: the opponent absentmindedly crushes a flea, and Tsong-kha-pa exclaims, "Alas, even as we discuss the holy dharma, I hear the death-cries of a sentient being rising."

Antipathy to the Sakyas, which has some roots at least in political rivalry, also causes Tsong-kha-pa and his followers to take positions of tenuous import. A prominent point of difference concerns the lineage of bodhisattva vow. Tsong-kha-pa says (P 28b):

> There is no meaningful distinction to be made between the ceremonies of noble Nāgārjuna and noble Asaṅga for obtaining the vow; there are only some technical dissimilarities to distinguish them. Hence to label those two systems as the Mādhyamika system and the Cittamātra system and then speak of incongruities of source from which to take [the vow], ceremonies for taking it and seminal transgressions, is a horrendous misconstrual.

Tsong-kha-pa credits Nāgārjuna with first dignifying the bodhisattva vow with a ceremony;[8] this may reflect his emphasis upon Mādhyamika rather than Yogācāra as the highest philosophic doctrine. The bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, and not Maitreya, is invoked at the head of the *Basic Path* (P 3a.4), and in the closing verses (P 98b). Asaṅga first presents the vow as an eth-

ical system, and Śāntideva elaborates a new system (not patterned upon Prātimokṣa) several centuries later. For example, the SS bases its list of transgressions upon that of the *Ākāśagarbha-sūtra* (hereafter AG).

If two systems are to be found in the Indian texts, then they must (according to Tibetan historiography) be intended for different classes of disciple. Again presenting the Sakya view (P 46a):

> Some Tibetans say that individual scriptures are addressed to various sorts of disciple, and different ceremonies are therefore to be followed. According to this view, if you take [the vow] with the ceremony expounded in the SS and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, you follow the system of seminal transgressions explained in the AG scripture; whereas if you take it with the ceremony expounded in the BBH, you follow the seminal transgressions explained there. And some defined [the two systems] as creations of the differing Mādhyamika and Cittamātra schools.

This view is presented by Sa–skya Paṇḍita (*Sdom gsum*: 15a). The two systems differ in philosophic view, in ceremony, in transgression, in rectification of transgression, and in rules of training;[9] they are intended for different types of person, just as the Prātimokṣa has classes corresponding to monastic and lay (Go–ram–pa, *Rnam bshad*: 68b.1–2). In the ceremony, for example, the Yogācāra vow requires Prātimokṣa as preliminary, whereas the Mādhyamika replaces it with the "seven offices of worship" from the *Bhadracari-praṇidhāna* (Go–ram–pa, *Spyi don*: 26b.3–4). According to Sa-paṇ, Prātimokṣa is the more difficult preliminary, hence the Mādhyamika ceremony is the more accessible. Those who are sinful cannot create the thought of awakening by taking the Yogācāra form of the vow, just as seeds will not sprout in a cold climate; the Mādhyamika form is like barley that will grow in any climate.

Followers of Tsong–kha–pa take the view that *bodhicitta* is everywhere the same.[10] But this is not the issue. Sa–paṇ himself points out that ultimate *bodhicitta* (i.e., awakening itself) is produced by meditation, not by any ceremony; neither ceremony is more than a verbal convention (*Sdom gsum*: 15a–b). Probably, the unstated concern of Tsong–kha–pa is to establish a lineage for his school that includes both Indian streams, from Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga through Śāntideva and down to the Kadampa geshes. The Sakyas describe the geshes as having received only the BBH lineage; they (the Sakyas) have both.

The position of Sa–paṇ is based upon the work of Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan (his uncle), who in the commentary to the *Twenty Verses* describes the AG system of "seminal transgressions" as "a different scriptural system" (Tatz 1982: 42). Transgressions are a convenient illustration, for Tsong–kha–pa devotes considerable space to them. The Chapter on Ethics advances two sets

gathered, Asaṅga says, from scattered passages of scripture (BBH at TS: P 84b). Generally speaking, these transgressions represent failure to perform the various bodhisattva "trainings." Of the two sets, four "defeats" (*pārāja-yika-sthānīyā-dharmā*) result (in certain circumstances) in loss of the vow; "misdeeds" (*āpatti*), numbered variously (*circa* forty–six) only contradict it. Śāntideva presents one set of eighteen "seminal transgressions" (*mūlāpatti*) consisting of several lists from the AG, one item from the *Skill in Means Sūtra*, and several items apparently drawn from the BBH.

Śāntideva may, by his own account, have intended to combine the AG system with that of Asaṅga, or to supersede that of Asaṅga by his own.[11] However that passage of the SS is to be understood, Tsong–kha–pa demonstrates that the systems of the AG and the BBH are in fact blended into that of the SS, and he regards this as the last word. He is not convinced by attempts by Bodhibhadra and Abhayākaragupta to demonstrate simple congruence of the AG and BBH systems (P 45a–47a).

If the SS is the last word, why does Tsong–kha–pa take the Chapter on Ethics as his source text? The SS, being a compilation of scriptures gathered under verse–headings, is a clumsy site for systematic commentary. In addition, Tsong–kha–pa intends to take possession of the entire corpus of Indian work on the subject of ethics, thereby establishing that his school own the authentic lineage of bodhisattva vow and defeating his Sakya rivals in competition for the hearts of Tibetan Buddhists.

Tibetan scholars of the time would surely have recognized Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan as the object of contradiction in other passages of the *Basic Path*. At P 43a, Tsong–kha–pa relates his analysis of bodhisattva defeat (attributed to "some Tibetans"), and corrects it (TS: P 43a and n. 246; Tatz 1982: 41–42). At P 56a–b he criticizes a use of the *Upālipariprcchā-sūtra* by Ratnākaraśānti that is adopted by Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan (see TS: n. 518; Tatz 1982: 44). At P 87a–b he corrects him on the topic of rectification of trangression.

At other places Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan is cited as correct but not credited, as when Tsong–kha–pa adopts his system of subtitles for misdeeds (n. 443).

APPENDIX: CITATIONS AND REFERENCES IN THE *BASIC PATH TO AWAKENING*

This section lists Tsong–kha–pa's sources by author, title, and place in the modern Tibetan canon (by Otani number). Titles of sacred texts are cited as he gives them.

P = Peking edition of the *Basic Path.*

Uncr. = "not credited by TS."

Incor. = "cited by TS as incorrect."

No attempt is made here to indicate where TS has misquoted; see the notes to the full translation (Tatz 1987).

Abhayākaragupta, *Bodhisattvasaṁvaragrahaṇa–vidhi* (O 5365). P 28b, 30b, 31a.
— *Munimatālaṁkāra* (O 5299). P 9b, 11a, 40a, 43b, 45a–47a *passim* (incor.), 53b.
Ākāśagarbha–sūtra (O 926). P 41a, 44b–53b *passim*, 54a–b.
Akṣayamatinirdeśa–sūtra (O 842). In citation from SS, P 38b.
Asaṅga. *See also* Maitreya.
Bodhisattvabhūmi. In general: P 29b, 38a, 45a. Ch. 2: 28b. Ch. 3: 39b. Ch. 8 (uncr.): 19a, 21a–b. Ch. 17: 87b. Ch. 18: 84b–85a.
— *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra* (O 5221). P 39a (uncr., n. 216), 73b–74a, 80a, 89b.
— *Śrāvakabhūmi* (O 5537). P 93b, 95a, 96a.
— *Vastu–saṁgrahaṇī* ("Topical Summary," O 5540). P 90b.
— *Viniścaya–saṁgrahaṇī* ("Ascertainment–Summary," O 5539). P 24a–27a, 29b–30a, 61b–62b.
— *Vinaya–saṁgrahaṇī* ("Vinaya Summary," O 5541). P 90b–91a.
Atīśa (Dīpaṁkaraśrījñāna), *Cittotpādasaṁvara–vidhikrama* ("Ceremony," O 5403). P 28b, 31a, 33a, 34a, 34b, 36a.
— *Lam sgron* ("A Lamp for the Path," O 5344) and auto–commentary (O 5345). P 9b, 10a, 13a, 28b, 57a.
Bhadracari–praṇidhāna ("Resolve"). P 14a.
Bhaiṣajyaguru–sūtra (O 136). In citation from SS, P 27b–28a.
Bhavabhadra. P 33a.
Bodhibhadra, *Bodhisattvavasaṁvara–vidhi* (O 5362). P 28b.
— *Bodhisattvasaṁvaraviṁśaka–pañjikā* (the "new commentary," "explication," O 5584). P 9a, 9b, 10b–11a (incor.), 13a, 23b, 37a (incor.), 40a, 41a, 44b–46a *passim* (incor.), 52a, 54b (uncr.), 59b (uncr.), 64a, 64b, 66a, 66b, 67b, 68b, 69a (incor.), 71b, 72b (incor.), 73b–74a (uncr., n.

NOTES

1 I first read Tsong–kha–pa in the second year of literary Tibetan under Terry Wylie in 1971, when with Geshe Nornang we applied ourselves to the *Lam rim chung ba.* I am indebted to Professor Wylie for conveying to me the rudiments of reading the Tibetan language — for the gems of grammatical insight not found in the textbooks, and most of all for his lively and undogmatic appreciation of Tibetans and their culture.

2 Full title: *Byang chub sems dpa'i tshul khrim kyi rnam bshad byang chub gzhung lam.* References to O 6145, and to the translation by Tatz 1987.

3 On pledges, see Beyer 1973: 403–407; for *prātimokṣa*, see Prebish 1975.

4 An instance of the superior person is Indrabhūti; of the middling — who takes the vows separately — Nāgārjuna. So Mnga'–ris Paṇḍita, *Sdom gsum:* 2b.2–3; see comments by Chos–kyi–dbang–phyug: 15b.1–6, Dharmaśrī: 34.2–35.6. On Mnga'–ris, see n. 5 below.

5 Mnga'–ris: 15a.4–5; Chos–kyi–dbang–phyug: 91a.5–b.3; Dharmaśrī: 573.6–574.1. Mnga'–ris, at 1487–1542, postdates Tsong–kha–pa, but on this issue he cites "the hundred–thousand tantras of the former diffusion" (15a.3). In his comment, Dharmaśrī cites figures of the "later diffusion" of dharma as well, including Rin–chen–bzang–po and Sa–skya Paṇḍita, but not Atīśa.

6 Sum–pa mkhan–po 1908: 185–186; see also Atīśa, translation in Sherburne 1983: 176.

7 For example, a concept expounded by Grags–pa–rgyal–mtshan (Tatz 1982: 37–38) is found at Mnga'–ris: 11a.1: the bodhisattva should be without fault, yet unafraid to display the appearance of being at fault.

8 Nāgārjuna, O 5361. See TS: P 28b, introd. sec. 3.

9 Details and other references in TS: n. 21.

10 This and the following, TS: esp. n. 22.

11 According to the "old" and the "new" translations of the SS, respectively. The new translation reads "to establish a certain system" (TS: P 47a). Tsong–kha–pa takes this to mean "to establish or lay out his (Asaṅga's) system," but it could also be taken to refer to the system of Śāntideva himself.

A REEXAMINATION OF THE SECOND EDICT OF KHRI-SRONG-LDE-BTSAN[1]

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Introduction

Among the mostly inscriptional material published and translated by the late Professor Giuseppe Tucci in his memorable study, *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* (Tucci 1950), were three edicts which were on the contrary preserved only in the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (written 1545–1565) of Dpa'–bo Gtsug–lag–phreng–ba. It has been recognized that the language and orthography of these edicts contain many archaic features; and, while they cannot be considered of the same order as the inscriptions, the Dunhuang documents, or other incontestably ancient materials, they are nonetheless of considerable importance to those interested in the language and history of the Old Tibetan period.

The text of the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* used by Tucci seems to have been defective in various ways. For example, his versions of the edicts contained lacunae and illegible or semi–legible portions, and at certain points there were corruptions of other types, some of which were corrected by him in notes and others tacitly in his English translations. But many serious problems remained. Hope for the resolution of these was raised in 1962 by L. Chandra's publication of a much better edition of the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston.* And later two further versions of the text were brought to notice by Professor G. Uray (1968: 289–290, note 2): (1) a xylographic edition in the Ganden Teegcinleen Monastery in Ulaanbaatar, and, (2) a manuscript edition in the possession of Mr. H.E. Richardson. The Ulaanbaatar xylographic edition agrees almost exactly with the version of Chandra.[2] Mr. Richardson published his versions of the "First and Second Edicts," with translations and notes, in 1980. His

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[1] I had originally intended to offer this study to my teacher, Professor T.V. Wylie, who first introduced me to the grammar of Written Tibetan and later to the language of the Old Tibetan period. Sadly, it must now be dedicated to his memory, of which I hope it will be worthy. I wish to express my thanks to Ms. Huang Bufan and Professor G. Uray, who read an earlier version of this paper and made useful and important suggestions and criticisms. I take full responsibility for all remaining errors of fact and opinion.

[2] This has been pointed out to me by Professor Uray and has been confirmed by examination of a microfilm copy of the text itself. I am most grateful to Professor Uray and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for their kindness in providing me with this facsimile.

texts are similar to Chandra's, and his study resolves many of the residual difficulties of Tucci's earlier treatment, particularly as regards the "Second Edict." On the other hand, there are, between the Chandra and Richardson versions, a number of interesting discrepancies which deserve notice; and there are intriguing differences of interpretation between the translations of Tucci and Richardson.

The object of the present study is to collate the text versions of the "Second Edict" as given by Tucci, Chandra, and Richardson (and also to a much lesser extent the Ulaanbaatar xylograph) and to retranslate the text. The translation is somewhat more literal than those of Tucci (1950: 47–50, ns. pp. 82–83) and Richardson (1980: 66–68, ns. pp. 72–73) and in certain cases reflects different readings suggested by the collation. At other points I have also taken the liberty of differing with their interpretations. A complete syllable index to the text has been given. It is hoped that this may facilitate comparisons of both vocabulary and grammatical usage with that of known Old Tibetan documents. Should the Edict be adjudged an authentic text of the Old Tibetan period, then the index may contribute to our store of information on the lexicon of Old Tibetan.

The Text

The pagination of all the original editions is identical (i.e., *Ja*: 110a–111b). Tucci's published version of the text is printed in seventy–five lines, and I have adhered to this format exactly to facilitate comparison. Tucci's parenthesized indications of the pagination have also been retained. The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

C: Chandra (1962: 55–56) [*Ja*: 110a–111b]

R: Richardson (1980: 70–72)

T: Tucci (1950: 98–100)

U: Xylographic edition of the Ganden Teegcinleen Monastery, Ulaanbaatar; microfilm courtesy of Professor G. Uray and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest; *Ja*: 110a–111b.

Versions C and U agree unless otherwise indicated.

btsan po khri srong lde btsan gyi sku ring la/ chos 'byung ba'i lo drung gi[3] yi ge zla la bzhag pa/ phra myen[4] gyis bris te gser gyi sgrom bur stsal nas/ dpal bsam yas kyi dkor mdzod tu[5] bzhag pa las dpe' bgyis nas bris pa// gna' da[6] 'chad bod yul du dkond cog gsum gyi rten bcas te/ sangs rgyas kyi chos mdzaḍ pa'i lo drung gi[7] yi ger[8] bris pa/ sgrom bu'i nang na mchis pa'i dpe'/ btsan[9]

[3] T: gyi
[4] R: men
[5] T: du
[6] T: ra
[7] T: gyi
[8] R: ge
[9] T: bzang

po bzhi mes khri srong btsan gyi ring la/ ra sa'i bi har[10] brtsigs[11] te sangs rgyas kyi chos thog ma mdzad tshun chad/ btsan[12] po yab khri lde gtsug brtsan gyi ring la/ brag dmar gyi kwa chur gtsug lag khang brtsigs te sangs rgyas kyi chos mdzad phand chad gdung rabs lnga lon no/ btsan po yab dgung du gshegs kyi 'og du zhang blon[13] kha cig gis[14] hur 'dums kyi blo zhig phyung[15] ste/ yab mes kyi ring tshund chad/ sangs rgyas kyi[16] chos mdzad mdzad pa yang bshig[17] go/ de nas yang snyad[18] ni lho bal gyi[19] lha dang chos bod yul du bgyi ba'i[20] myi rigs shes/ gzhan yang phyind chad[21] bygid tu[22] mi gnang bar bka' khrims bris so/ de nas btsan po zha snga nas lo nyi shu bzhes pa na/ thog ma ni phyag spring[23] dang ltas shig ngan te/ cho ga ci mdzad pas bshad[24] kyang dgung zla du mar phyag spring[25] (110b) dang ltas ngan nas/ sangs rgyas kyi chos bgyid du[26] mi gnang ba'i bka'khrims kyang khrims su mi bgyi bar[27] dor[28] / dkond cog gsum gyi[29] mchod pa yang bgyi zhes bgyis na gzod bzang por[30] gyurd[31] to/ de nas dge ba'i bshes gnyen gyis bstangs te chos kyang gsan/ yi ge yang spyan sngar brims nas/ sangs rgyas kyi chos dpel[32] zhing mdzad par sgroms so/ de na bod kyi chos rnying pa ma legs pa[33] / sku lha gsol ba dang cho ga myi mthun pas/ kun kyang ma legs su dogs te/ la la ni sku la dmar yang dogs/ la la ni chab srid god[34] gyis[35] kyang dogs/ la la ni mi nad phyugs nad byung gis[36] kyang dogs/ la la ni mu ge langs babs[37] kyis[38] kyang dogs so// chos nyid kyi nang du brtags na/ chos las 'byung ba ni 'jig rten gyi khams su myed pa na/ sems can gyi[39] khams grangs med pa/ skye ba rnam bzhi'i[40] nang du skye zhing 'khor ba la gtogs so cog/ dang po'i thog ma med pa nas/ tha ma'i mtha' myed

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[10] T: pe kar; U: p(e) har (?)
[11] T: bstsigs
[12] T: brtsan
[13] T: blong
[14] T: gyis
[15] T: byung
[16] T: gyi
[17] T: gshig
[18] T: slad (?); R: snyed
[19] T: yi
[20] T: pa'i
[21] T: phyi nang chos
[22] T: bgyis su
[23] T: sbrid; U: unclear
[24] T, U: bshang
[25] T: sbrid; U: sbri(ng) (?)
[26] T: bgyis su
[27] T: bgyis ba
[28] T: 'dor
[29] T: kyi
[30] T: po
[31] T: 'gyurd
[32] T: 'phel
[33] C, R: lags la
[34] C, R: gong
[35] C, R: gis
[36] T: gyis
[37] C, R: bab
[38] At this point R adds: (mu ge dang sad ser bah kyis *ms*), apparently indicating a variant reading from his manuscript. The word *bah* is perhaps a typesetter's error for *bab*.
[39] T: kyi
[40] T: bzhi

pa’i bar du/ rang gi[41] las kyis de bzhin du srid pa las[42] / lus dang ngag dang yid gsum nas legs par spyad to cog ni dge bar ’gyur/ nyes pa spyad[43] to cog ni sdig par ’gyur/ legs nyes med pa ni lung du myi ston par ’gyur/ gzhan la phar[44] byas pa’i[45] ’bras bu ni bdag la smind te/ gnam gyi rim pa’i lhar skye ba[46] dang/ sa’i steng gi[47] myi dang/ lha ma yin dang/ yi dags dang byol song dang/ sa’i ’og gi sems can dmyal ba dang ’di drug tu[48] skye ’o cog[49] kyang rang gi[50] las kyis ’gyur ro/ ’jig rten las ’das te sangs rgyas bcom ldan ’das su ’gyur ba[51] dang/ byang chub sems dpa’ dang rang byang chub dang/ nyan thos kyis rim par ’grub pa kun[52] kyang bsod nams dang ye shes kyi tshogs rang gis brtsogs pa las ’gyur ro zhes ’byung ngo/ dge ba gang zhe na dge ba bcu la bstsogs pa’o/ myi dge ba gang zhe na/ mi dge bcu la (111a) bstsogs[53] pa’o/ lung du mi ston pa gang zhe na/ spyod lam bzhi la bstsogs[54] pa’o/ ’jig rten las ’das pa’i bsod nams dang ye shes kyi tshogs gang zhe na/ dge ba bcu’i steng du bden pa bzhi dang/ rkyen dang ’du ba tshogs ste byung ba’i yan[55] lag bcu gnyis dang byang chub kyi phyogs kyi chos sum bcu rtsa bdun dang pha rold tu phyind pa bcu la bstsogs[56] pa’o/ de’i ’bras bu ni mi ’jigs pa bzhi dang so so yang dag par shes pa bzhi dang/ stobs bcu dang ma ’dres pa’i chos bco brgyad dang thugs rje chen po sum bcu rtsa gnyis[57] la bstsogs[58] par ’gyur te/ gtan tshigs zhib tu ni chos kyi yi ge’i nang na mchis so// chos kyi nang nas byung ba[59] ’di rnams rjes bcad na/ kha cig ni legs nongs[60] kyis dmyigs ’phral du mngon pa yang mchis/ kha cig ’phral du mi mngon pa yang mngon par gda’ ba[61] rnams kyi tshul las (dpags)[62] na/ nges par gzung du rung ba yang mchis te/ mdo de rnams dang sbyar na/ chos ’di gtang ngam mdzad dam ci rigs shes/ ’bangs su mnga’ ba rgyal phran ’a zha rje

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[41] T: gyi

[42] At this point R adds: lus dang ngag dang yid gsum nas legs gi las kyis de bzhin du srid pa las/. This seems to be a copyist’s or printer’s interpolation based on the first eight syllables of the following line and the last six of the preceding one, in that order.

[43] R: spyed

[44] T: gzhan (yang ?) rang

[45] C: ba’i

[46] T: lha bskyes pa

[47] T: gyi

[48] R: du

[49] T: skyes pa cog

[50] C: gyi

[51] T: pa

[52] T: kund (?)

[53] T: stsogs; R: bstogs

[54] T: btsogs

[55] T: yang

[56] T: btsogs; R: bstogs

[57] T: gnyis pa

[58] T: stsogs

[59] T: pa

[60] T: nods

[61] T: pa

[62] T: —

la bstsogs[63] pa dang/ phyi nang gyi[64] blon po rnams la bka's smras[65] / bka' gros su mdzad nas/ gcig[66] tu na sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi bka' lung la bstan[67] / gnyis su na[68] yab mes kyi dpe lugs la 'tshal[69] / gsum du na dge[70] ba'i bshes gnyen gyi mthus bstangs pa dang yang sbyar[71] nas mdor[72] brtags na/ myi dge ma legs par dogs pa'i rnams kyang de ltar myi 'gyur gyi steng du/ ched che bar bka' gros mdzad to[73] / de la ma[74] legs pa[75] ni ji ltar mi 'gyur ched ni ji ltar che zhe na/ chos kyi mdo ni legs su bgyi bas/ bla na med pa'i don sgrub pa legs[76] te/ legs pa'i mtha' (nongs par mi 'gyur gyis gcig[77]) (thams cad la yun du dpen pa 'di lta'o// tshor[78]) dpags[79] tsam gyis dgos pa gzhig du[80] yang[81] mi[82] rung gis gnyis/ yab med gdung rabs du ma'i bar du mdzad kyang/ ma legs pa ma byung ba rang[83] (111b) gsum gyis da yang nongs[84] par myi 'gyur la ched[85] che'o zhes/ (mdzad par bka' gros btul de mdzad to[86])/ de lta bas na sangs rgyas kyi chos mdzad pa yang/ gcig tu na yong gis[87] bzang la gces/ gnyis su na sngon bshig pa'i dpe[88] byung[89] bas[90] thugs yid dogs te/ brtan[91] du mi gzhig par dbu snyung bro mna' bor ba yang yi ger bris so/ phyind chad[92] kyang (gdung rabs gcig cing[93])/ yi dam mdzad pa dang blon po man chad[94] kyang bro stsal bar[95] bgyis so/

[63] R: bstgogs
[64] C, R: gi
[65] C, R: rmas
[66] T: bcig
[67] R: bsten
[68] T: ni
[69] C: 'chel
[70] T: gde
[71] C: spyar
[72] T: mngor
[73] T: mdzad te; R: mdzed to
[74] R: lam
[75] C, R: par
[76] R: lags
[77] T: — cig
[78] T: — ; Ms. Huang Bufan informs me that another version of our text, kept in Peking, has *tshod*, which I believe is the correct reading here.
[79] T: dpag
[80] T: gzhi (?)
[81] C, R: 0
[82] C, R: myi
[83] T, R: dang
[84] T: nods
[85] T: cher
[86] T: — bka' gros — te mdzad to
[87] T: gyis
[88] C, R: dpe'
[89] T: bzung
[90] T: pas
[91] T: gsum
[92] C: cad
[93] T: —
[94] C: cad
[95] T: bor

Translation of the Text

N.B. Paragraphs in the translation are identified by corresponding line numbers in the text.

1–4 In the time of the *btsan-po*, Khri–srong–lde–btsan, (this document was) placed together with the text of the account of how the Law came forth.[96] Having been inscribed with silver gilt,[97] and deposited in a gold chest, (it was) written down after a copy was made from the version placed in the treasury of Dpal Bsam–yas.

4–6 (According to) the copy in the chest, which was written down in the words of the account, discussing (events) ancient and modern of how the receptacles of the Three Jewels were constructed and the Law of the Buddha was practiced in Tibet:

6–11 In the time of the *btsan-po*, my fourth ancestor, Khri–srong–btsan, the *vihāra*[98] of Ra–sa was built and the Buddha's Law was first practiced. From that time forward, down until in the time of the *btsan-po*, my father, Khri–lde–gtsug–brtsan, when the chapel at Kwa–chu in Brag–dmar was built and the Buddha's Law was practiced, five generations elapsed.

11–16 After the *btsan-po*, my father, went to heaven, certain officials (brought forth:) had intentions of collusion[99] ; and the practice of the Bud-

[96] *Lo-drung* "account, story, chronicle," following Tucci. I do not find this compound in any dictionary. It occurs in a Dunhuang document (P.T. 1290, line 11) cited by Stein (1984: 263), and is translated by him as "le récit." Richardson (1980: 63) suggests that *-drung* is a variant of *sgrung* "legend, tale," but such a substitution seems precluded for the Old Tibetan period on phonetic grounds. The expression *zla la bzhag* "placed together with..." is attested in the Skar–chung Inscription (lines 56–57) and the Mtshur–phu Inscription (lines 54–55 and 58–59), where specific reference is made to deposition of a later document together with earlier ones in archives and storage places. The earlier text referred to here is clearly the First Edict of Khri–srong–lde–btsan [Tucci 1950: 95–97 (text), 44–47 (translation); Richardson 1980: 68–70 (text), 64–66 (translation)].

[97] On the term *phra-myen*, see Tucci 1950: 79, n. 45.

[98] *Bi-har* Skt. *vihāra*. Tucci's version writes *pe-kar* while the Ulaanbaatar text writes what appears to be *p(e)-har*. The Edict of Khri–lde–srong–btsan at the founding of Skar–chung Chapel writes *dpe-har*, and various other early spellings are attested. For a discussion of these and their identification, see Tucci 1950: 56.

[99] Tucci translates *hur-'dums* as "hostility," but the reasons for this interpretation seem unclear. The stem *hur-*, as observed in various compounds, seems to mean "quick, active, alert, clever; hot, hasty, passionate." *'Dums* is the perfective root of *'dum-pa* "to join together, reach an accord, be reconciled." Perhaps *hur-'dums* means "collu-

dha's Law, which had continued from the time of my forefather and father, was destroyed. Then, by way of (false) pretext, they held that one ought not to (worship or) practice in Tibet the gods and religion of Lho-bal[100] ; and, furthermore, they wrote a law that disallowed the practice of it thereafter.

16–21 Then when (I) the (present) *btsan-po* attained the age of twenty, at the outset the tidings and a prognostic omen were bad. But though this was (explained:) rationalized by the performance of certain magical rites, yet for many months the tidings and omens were bad. Thereupon (it was ordered) that the law which disallowed the practice of the Buddha's religion be rejected so that it should not be treated as a law, and that the worship of the Three Jewels be practiced. And when that was done the good beginning came about.

21–23 Then the spiritual advisors, rendering assistance, gave heed to the Law and also presented the texts to the eyes of His Majesty, whereupon they concentrated upon (?)[101] augmenting[102] and practicing the Buddha's Law.

23–28 At that point, because Tibet's ancient religion was not good and the magical rites were contradictory to the invocation of the tutelary deities,[103] everyone was apprehensive[104] that it was not good: some were frightened that there was red color on their bodies,[105] some were frightened because the government was damaged, some were frightened because diseases of men

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sion" here. Cf. Richardson (1980: 66): "actively conspiring together."

[100] Tucci, following fairly widely established practice, translates *lho-bal* as "Nepal of the South." The term *lho-bal* has been extensively discussed by Stein (e.g., 1981b: 251, n. 51; 1983: 205–207), who holds that it must mean "les barbares." Stein has specifically rejected Tucci's translation of *lho-bal* in our text (1983: 207, n. 105).

[101] The verb *sgroms* is unknown. Perhaps it is a copyist's error for *sgrims* "to squeeze, tighten; concentrate one's energies upon." In the sense "concentrate one's energies," *sgrims* is attested in the *Shangshu* translation from Dunhuang (Huang 1981: 209, line 26).

[102] *Dpel* may be a variant of or an error for *spel* "to augment, increase."

[103] *Sku-lha* "tutelary deity." On this term, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 266), Macdonald (1971: 295–309) and Stein (1983: 200–201).

[104] Tucci and Richardson read *dogs-pa* in this passage as a variant of *'dogs-pa* "to attach, bind," here: "to be addicted to." I take it in its own sense, "to fear, be apprehensive," etc. In Old Tibetan texts *dogs-pa* is used with the terminative, meaning "to be concerned about," and with the instrumental, meaning "to be frightened because of." For examples of both uses in the same text, cf. Huang 1981: 206, line 4 and 209, line 25.

[105] This refers to the ancient Tibetan practice of coloring the body with red ochre.

and cattle appeared, and some were frightened by the (rising and falling:) recurrence of famines.

28–43 When one has examined into the Law itself, then, as to that which emerges from it: if it does not exist in the regions of the physical world, then the numberless realm of sentient beings, all of them which are born into the four classes of beings and belong to the cycle of transmigration, have their existence from time immemorial unto time without end on the basis of their own deeds; as a consequence whereof whatever from the body, the speech and the mind, those three, is well done becomes virtue. Whatever evil is done becomes a sin. And as to actions which possess neither good nor evil they constitute cases where no spiritual lesson is taught. The fruits of things done for others ripen for oneself, and as to these six categories: those reborn among the successively ranked gods in heaven, the human beings on earth, the asuras, the *yi-dags*, the animals, and the suffering beings below the earth, whosoever is reborn among them becomes (so) through his own actions. And, the Buddha who, having passed beyond the world, has become the Bhagavān, the bodhisattvas, the pratyekabuddhas, and the śrāvakas, who (all) have gradually become accomplished, they too have all become (so) as a consequence of their having themselves gathered together accumulations of virtue and knowledge. These (principles) emerge (from the Law.)

43–53 If we ask what virtue is, it is the ten virtues, etc.[106] If we ask what is not virtue, it is the ten non-virtues, etc. If we ask what are the cases where no spiritual lesson is taught, they are the four actions, etc. If we ask what is the accumulation of the virtue and knowledge which have transcended the world, it is, over and above the ten virtues, the four truths, the twelve members which have arisen upon gathering together causes and combinations, the thirty-seven dharmas of the aspects of wisdom, and the ten perfections, etc. The fruits of those become the four fearlessnesses, the four accurate understandings, the ten strengths, the eighteen unmixed dharmas and the thirty-two great compassions, etc. The demonstrative arguments (of it) are found in precise detail in the texts of the Law.

53–58 When one has followed the tracks of these things which have come forth from the Law, then, as to some there are cases where, at the very moment, by means of good and fault the idea becomes clear.[107] And, as to some, for whom it has not at that moment become clear, if they take the measure from the methods of those who are (already) in clarity, then (for them) there will also be suitable means for firmly grasping it. And if

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[106] Tucci (1950: 83, n. 107) gives references to the *Mahāvyutpatti* for the following sets or lists of qualities and virtues.

[107] It seems plausible that *legs-nongs kyis dmyigs* might here be emended to *legs-nongs kyi dmyigs* "the idea of good and fault."

they behave in conformity with these essential points, then they shall know whether it is right to abandon or to practice this Law.

58–64 Addressing the feudal princes whom he controlled as subjects, such as the ruler of the 'A–zha, etc. and the ministers of the exterior and interior, he convened a council, whereupon they conferred upon the following topics: in the first instance, that one shall teach the spiritual lesson of the Buddha, the Bhagavān; in the second instance, that one shall strive after the example of the (royal) forbears; and in the third instance, that, if having worked in conjunction with the assistance (gained) through the strength of the spiritual advisors, we search into the essential points, those who are apprehensive about lack of virtue and goodness shall not be so, and on top of that, that that which is great shall become greater.

64–71 With regard to that (set of topics), (it was said,) "If one asks, how shall evil not come about and how shall the great become greater, then (the answer is):

One — through practicing well the essential points of the Law the fulfillment of the supreme goal will be good, and the realm of the goodness will not (become:) encounter fault. By this means (it is to be accomplished).

Two — One looks at these things which are for a long time useful to all. (Proceeding) by means of just so much as one has taken the measure of, it is not appropriate to destroy what one needs. By this means (it is to be accomplished).

Three — Having been practiced during the many generations of (royal) forbears, that which is not good did not arise. By this very fact[108] (it is to be accomplished).

And even now, in so far as we do not encounter fault, what is great shall become greater."

So saying, the consultation of the council, overcoming (objections, counterarguments, etc.) was carried out.

71–75 Thus, as for the practice of the Buddha's Law, firstly it was at all times precious in its excellence. And, secondly, because there had emerged the precedent of its having formerly been destroyed, their hearts were in doubt (that it might happen again); and so they swore a solemn oath upon their heads that (safely:) being kept safe it would not in future be destroyed. This was recorded in writing. And afterwards, during the course of one generation, together with those who made the vow, (others) from the ministers down also offered their oaths.

[108] By comparison with the two preceding lines we may guess that *gyis* here has been mistakenly placed after *gsum* rather than before it.

Syllabic Index to the Text

k

kun all. 25, 41
kyang emphatic particle (sometimes translated as "also, even"); cf. *yang.* 18, 19, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 38, 41, 63, 69, 74, 75
kyi genitive particle; cf. *gi* , *gyi.* 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 23, 28, 42, 46, 48, 53, 56, 61, 66, 71
kyis instrumental/agentive particle; cf. *gyis.* 27, 32, 39, 41, 54
Kwa–chu name of a place near Bsam–yas. 9
dkond–cog = *dkon–mchog* precious thing, jewel. 4–5, 20
dkor–mdzod treasury. 3
bka' word, order of a king
    bka'–khrims law. 15, 19
    bka'–gros council, royal council. 60, 64,70
    bka'–lung = *lung* instruction, teaching (respectful). 61
    bka's smras by command his majesty said. 59
    bka's by decree or command (instrumental of *bka'*, q.v.). 59
rkyen cause, influence, condition. 47
sku body. 25
sku–ring lifetime. 1
sku–lha tutelary god. 24
skye–ba to be born, to be reborn. 30, 36, 38

kh

kha–cig some, someone, a certain one. 11–12, 54, 55
khang, see *gtsug–*
khams realm, region. 29
Khri–lde–gtsug–brtsan name of a Tibetan king (r. 704–754). 8–9
Khri–srong–lde–btsan name of a Tibetan king (r. 755–797). 1
Khri–srong–btsan a short form for Khri Srong–btsan–sgam–po, name of a Tibetan king (ob. 650). 7
khrims law; see also *bka'–*. 19
'khor–ba the cycle of transmigration. 30

g

ga, see *cho–*
gang what (interrogative). 43, 44, 45, 46
gi genitive particle; cf. *kyi*, *gyi.* 2, 6, 32, 36, 38, 39
gis instrumental/agentive particle; cf. *kyis*, *gyis.* 12, 27, 42, 68, 72
ge, see *mu–*, *yi–*
go finite verb ending; cf. *ngo*, *to*, *no*, *'o*, *ro*, *so.* 13

god to suffer loss or damage. 26
gyi genitive particle; cf. *kyi*, *gi*. 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 14, 20, 29, 36, 59, 62, 64
gyis instrumental/agentive particle; cf. *kyis*, *gis*. 2, 22, 26, 67, 69
gyurd perfective of *'gyur–ba* to become, grow; take place, occur. 21
grangs number. 30
gros advice, counsel; see *bka'–*.
dgung heaven. 11
  dgung–zla month. 18
dge–ba virtue, virtuous. 33, 43, 44, 46, 63
  dge–ba'i bshes–gnyen kalyāṇamitra, friend of virtue, a spiritual advisor. 21, 46, 62
dgos–pa to be necessary, obliged, want. 67
bgyi–ba future of *bgyid–pa* to make, do, act, perform. 14, 20, 66
bgyid to make, do, act, perform. 15, 19
bgyis perfective of *bgyid–pa* to make, do, act, perform. 4, 21, 75
'gyur–ba to become, grow; take place, occur. 33, 34, 35, 39, 40, 42, 52, 64, 65, 67, 70
'grub–pa to come to completion, be completed, accomplished. 41
rgyal–phran vassal of the king, feudatory prince. 58
rgyas, see Sangs–
sgrub–pa to complete, finish, carry out. 66
sgrom–bu chest, small box. 3, 6
sgroms perhaps a graphic error for *sgrims* to concentrate one's energies upon. 23
brgyad, see *bco–*

ng

ngag speech, talk, word. 32
ngan bad, evil. 17, 18
ngam alternative and interrogative suffix; cf. also *dam*. 58
nges–pa certain, sure, firm. 56
ngo finite verb ending; cf. *go*, *to*, *no*, *'o*, *ro*, *so*. 43
mnga'–ba to have, own; exercise dominion over. 58
mngon–pa to be conspicuous, visible; to be manifest, clear. 55, 55–56
lnga five. 10
snga, see *zha–*
sngar, see *spyan–*
sngon formerly, previously, before. 72

c

cad, see *thams–*
can, see *sems–*

ci any, what, whatever. 17, 58
cig, see *kha–*
cing gerundive particle; cf. *zhing*
during the course of (after time expressions). 74
cog, see *dkond–*, *'o–*
gcig one. 60, 67, 71, 74
gces excellent, precious, valuable. 72
bcad perfective of *gcod–pa* to cut; to follow a trace or track. 54
bcas perfective of *'cha'–ba* to make, prepare, construct. 5
bcu ten; cf. *bco–*; see also *sum–*. 43, 44, 46, 49, 51
bcu–gnyis twelve. 48
bco–brgyad eighteen. 51
Bcom–ldan–'das Bhagavān, an epithet of the Buddha. 39–40, 60

ch

chad, see *phand–*, *phyind–*, *man–*, *tshun–*, *tshund–*
chab–srid government. 26
chu, see Kwa–
chub, see *byang–*, *rang–*
che big, great; see also *ched–*. 65
ched big, great. 65
ched–che–ba to become more and more, greater and greater; that which is great grows even greater. 64, 70
chen–po large, great. 51–52
cho–ga method, way; magical rite. 17, 24
chos Law, dharma, religion. 1, 5, 8, 10, 13, 14, 19, 22, 23, 24, 28, 48, 51, 53, 57, 65, 71
mchis–pa to be, exist, to be located at. 6, 53, 55, 57
mchod–pa to honor, worship, revere. 20
'chad to tell, relate, explain. 4

j

ji–ltar how. 65
'jig–rten the physical world. 29, 39, 45
'jigs–pa to fear, dread. 50
rje lord, ruler, king. 58
rje, see *thugs–*
rjes trace, track. 54

ny

nyan–thos śrāvaka, a hearer, auditor. 41
nyi–shu twenty. 16

nyid self, same. 28
nyes–pa evil. 33–34, 34
gnyis two; see *bcu–* ; cf. also *nyi–*. 48, 52, 61, 68, 72
gnyen, see *dge–*
rnying–pa old, ancient. 24
snyad reason, pretense, pretext; malicious or false accusation. 14
snyung reduce, diminish; see *dbu–*

t

tu terminative particle; cf. *du* . 3, 15, 38, 49, 53, 60, 71
te gerundive particle; cf. *ste* . 2, 5, 7, 10, 17, 22, 25, 36, 39, 52, 57, 67, 70, 73
to finite verb ending; cf. *go*, *ngo*, *no*, *'o*, *ro*, *so*. 21, 64, 71
–to–cog, see *–'o–cog*
gtang future of *gtong–ba* to let go, dismiss, abandon. 57
gtan–tshigs argument, logic, demonstrated proof. 52
gtogs to belong to, be part of. 31
btul perfective of *'dul–ba* to subdue, conquer; convert. 70
rten receptacle, holder; sanctuary, shrine. 5
rten, see *'jig–*
lta to look, view. 67
lta, see *de–*
ltar, see *de–*, *ji–*
ltas omen, prognostic sign. 17, 18
ste gerundive particle; cf. *te*. 12, 47
steng top, upper surface. 36, 47, 64
ston–pa to show, teach. 35, 44–45
stobs strength, vigor, force. 51
brtags perfective of *rtog–pa* to consider, examine, search into. 28, 63
brtan firm, safe. 73
bstangs–pa perfective of *stongs–pa* to help, assist; to accompany. 22, 62
bstan perfective and future of *ston–pa* to show, teach. 61

th

tha–ma the last. 31
thams–cad all. 67
thugs–rje pity, compassion. 51
thugs–yid = *yid* the mind
  thugs–yid dogs = *yid dogs* to be in doubt, to be uncertain. 73
thog–ma origin, beginning. 9, 16–17
  thog–ma med–pa without beginning, time immemorial. 31
thos, see *nyan–*
mtha' end, limit, border. 31, 67

mthu power, force, strength. 62
mthun-pa to agree, be in harmony. 24–25

d

da now, the present, at this moment. 4, 69
dag, see *yang-*
dags, see *yi-*
dang and. 14, 17, 18, 24, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 57, 59, 62, 75
dang-po the first, earliest. 31
dam alternative and interrogative suffix; cf. *ngam*. 58
dam, see *yi-*
du terminative particle; cf. *tu*, *su*. 4, 11, 14, 19, 28, 30, 32, 34, 44, 47, 55, 56, 62, 64, 67, 68, 73
du-ma many. 18, 68
de that (far demonstrative). 13, 16, 21, 23, 32, 49, 57, 64
de-ltar in that way, so. 64
de-lta-bas-na so, thus, through such means as that. 71
dogs-pa to be afraid, to fear; to have misgivings or doubts about. 25, 26, 27, 28, 63, 73
don goal, aim. 66
dor perfective of *'dor-ba* to throw away, reject, cast aside. 20
drug six. 38
drung, see *lo-*
gda'-ba to be located, to be there. 56
gdung-rabs generation. 10, 68, 74
bdag oneself. 35
bdun seven; cf. *sum-*. 49
bden-pa true, truth. 47
mdo main points, essentials. 57, 63, 66
'das perfective of *'da'-ba* to pass over, pass beyond; see also Bcom- 39, 45–46
'di this. 38, 54, 57, 67
'du-ba to assemble, gather, join. 47
'dums perfective of *'dum-pa* to join together, reach an accord, be reconciled; see *hur-*
'dres-pa perfective of *'dre-ba* to be mixed with. 51
ldan, see Bcom-
lde, see Khri-
sdig-pa sin, wickedness. 34

n

na locative particle. 6, 23, 53, 66
pleonastic post–terminative and post–instrumental particle. 60, 61, 62, 71, 72
if, in as much as, when. 16, 21, 28, 29, 43, 44, 45, 46, 54, 56, 57, 63, 65
nang inside, within; cf. *phyi–*. 6, 28, 30, 53, 59
nad to be sick; illness. 26, 27
nams, see *bsod–*
nas temporal particle (sometimes called past participle particle). 3, 4, 22, 60, 63
from (inside). 13, 16, 18, 21, 31, 33, 53
ni emphatic or pause particle. 14, 17, 25, 26, 27, 29, 33, 34, 35, 50, 53, 54, 65, 66
no finite verb ending; cf. *go*, *ngo*, *to*, *'o*, *ro*, *so*. 11
nongs–pa fault, crime, offense, error. 54, 67, 70
gnang–ba to give, grant, allow. 15, 19
gnam sky, heaven. 36
gna' ancient, antiquity. 4
mna' oath; see *bro–*
rnam = *rnams* plural suffix. 30
rnams plural suffix. 54, 56, 57, 59, 63

p

pa, *pa'i*, *par*, *pas*; *po*, *po'i*, *por*, see under various stems
dpags perfective of *dpog–pa* to measure, weigh, judge. 56, 67
dpa', see *byang–*
Dpal Bsam–yas "Splendid Bsam–yas," honorific name for Bsam–yas. 3
dpe pattern, example, cf. *dpe'*. 72
dpe–lugs example, model. 61
dpen–pa useful, helpful. 67
dpel perhaps = *spel* to increase, augment, cause to multiply. 23
dpe' = *dpe* a copy, facsimile; pattern, model, example. 4, 6
spyad to do, perform,
commit. 33, 34
spyan eye (respectful)
spyan–sngar to his majesty's eyes (dative). 22
spyod–lam behavior, action. 45
spring–, see *phyag–*

ph

pha-rold-tu phyind-pa = *pha-rol-tu phyin-pa* to get to the other side; attain Nirvāṇa; pāramitā; perfection. 49
phand-chad = *phan-chad* towards, until, down to. 10
phar away from onself. 35
phyag hand (respectful)
  phyag-spring message, news, tidings (respectful). 17, 18
phyi outside, exterior
  phyi-nang exterior and interior. 59
phyind-chad = *phyin-chad* later, afterwards. 15, 74
phyind-pa = *phyin-pa* to come, get to, arrive; see *pha-*
phyugs cattle. 27
phyung perfective of *'byin-pa* to cause to come forth, bring forth. 12
phyogs side, quarter, aspect. 48
phra-myen silver gilt ornamented with gold. 2
phran, see *rgyal-*
'phral immediate space, immediate time
  'phral-du near at hand, at that moment, immediately. 54, 55

b

ba, *ba'i*, *bar*, *bas*, see various stems
babs perfective of *'bab-pa* to move down, descend. 27
bar interval, space
  bar-du in the interval, until. 32, 68
bal, see Lho-
bi-har = Skt. vihāra temple, monastery. 7
bu, see *sgrom-*, *'bras-*
Bod Tibet. 4, 14, 23
bor-ba perfective of *'bor-ba* to throw; to swear (an oath). 7
byang-chub bodhi, wisdom; see also *rang-*. 48
  byang-chub-sems-dpa' bodhisattva. 40
byas-pa perfective of *byed-pa* to make, do. 35
byung-ba perfective of *'byung-ba* to come forth, emerge. 27, 47, 53, 69, 72–73
byol-song animal, quadruped. 37
Brag-dmar name of a region southeast of Lhasa. 9
brims perfective of *'brim-pa* to distribute, give. 22
bris-pa perfective of *'bri-ba* to write. 2, 4, 6, 16, 74
bro an oath. 75
  bro-mna' an oath. 73–74
bla above, over, superior. 66
blo mind, sentiments. 12
blon-po minister, official; see also *zhang-*. 11, 59, 75

dbu head
dbu–snyung an oath sworn on one's head (<loss of the head ?). 73
'bangs subject, people. 58
'byung–ba to come forth, come out, emerge. 1, 28–29, 42
'bras–bu fruit; reward. 35, 49–50
sbyar perfective and future of *sbyor–ba* to be in conformity with, in conjunction with. 57, 62

m

ma negative particle. 24, 25, 37, 51, 63, 65, 69
ma, see *tha–*, *thog–*, *du–*
man–chad below, downward, on the lower side. 75
mi person, human being; cf. *myi*. 26
mi negative particle; cf. *myi* . 15, 19, 20, 44, 50, 55, 65, 67, 68, 73
mu–ge famine. 27
med–pa there is no, have not; cf. also *myed–pa*. 30, 31, 34, 66
mes grandfather, forefather. 7, 12, 61, 68
myi = *mi* person, human being. 37
myi = *mi* negative particle. 14, 24, 35, 43, 63, 64, 70
myed–pa variant of *med–pa* there is no, have not. 29, 31–32
myen, see *phra–*
dmar red, to be red; see also Brag–. 25
dmyal–ba to suffer the punishment of being cut up into small pieces; the hell where this punishment is inflicted. 38
dmyigs = *dmigs* idea, thought, fancy. 54
smind = *smin* to ripen, come to fruition. 36
smras perfective of *smra–ba* to speak, talk. 59

ts

tsam so much, as much, just so much, to the point of. 67
gtsug, see Khri–
gtsug–lag–khang vihāra, temple, chapel, assembly hall of a monastery, etc. 9
btsan, see Khri–
btsan–po title of the Tibetan king. 1, 6–7, 8, 11, 16
rtsa, see *sum–*
stsal–ba to give, bestow, send; (give over to:) put into. 3, 75
brtsan, see Khri–
brtsigs perfective of *rtsig–pa* to build. 7, 10
brtsogs–pa = sogs–pa (< Old Tibetan *stsogs–pa bstsogs*) to accumulate, gather together; cf. also *la bstsogs–pa*. 42
bstsogs, see *la*

tsh

tshigs, see *gtan–*
tshun–chad from...hitherwards, till now. 8
tshund–chad = *tshun–chad* from...hitherwards, until now, etc. 12–13
tshul manner, way. 56
tshogs assemblage, accumulation; to assemble, accumulate. 42, 46, 47
tshor to perceive; perhaps an error for *tshod* measure, proportion. 67
'tshal to want, desire, ask. 61

dz

mdzad–pa to do, act, make; practice. 5, 8, 10, 17, 23, 58, 60, 64, 68, 70, 71, 75
  mdzad–mdzad–pa reduplicative continuative of *mdzad–pa*. 13
mdzod, see *dkor–*

zh

zha, see 'A–
zha–snga–nas by his majesty (agentive). 16
zhang a title of high officials from families which furnished queens to the Tibetan kings, according to Tucci (1950: 58).
  zhang–blon zhang and *blon*, officials in general. 11
zhig one, a; cf. shig. 12
zhing gerundive particle; cf. *cing*. 23, 30
zhib fine, accurate. 52
zhe quotative particle; cf. *zhes*
  zhe na if one says or asks ... 43, 44, 45, 46, 65
zhes so, thus (quotative particle); cf. *zhe*. 21, 42, 70
gzhan other, otherwise. 35
  gzhan–yang furthermore. 15
gzhig–pa future of *'jig–pa* to destroy, abolish. 67, 73
bzhag–pa perfective of *'jog–pa* to put, place. 2, 3–4
bzhi four. 7, 30, 45, 47, 50
bzhin–du according to. 32
bzhes–pa take, seize; attain (a certain age). 16

z

zla month; see *dgung–*
zla companion, match, corresponding case. 2
gzung future of *'dzin–pa* to seize, hold. 56
gzod the time or instant at which something happens; the time from which something begins to happen or be so. 21
bzang–po good, beautiful. 21, 72

’

’A–zha name of a people, called the Tuyuhun by the Chinese. 58
’o finite verb ending; cf. *go*, *ngo*, *to*, *no*, *ro*, *so*. 43, 44, 45, 49, 67, 70
–’o–cog a collective suffix meaning “all, any, whatever, etc.” 31, 33, 34, 38
’og below, after. 11, 37

y

yang emphatic particle (sometimes translated as “also, even”); cf. *kyang*. 13, 14, 15, 18, 20, 22, 25, 55, 57, 62, 68, 69, 71, 74
yang–dag–par actual, real. 50, 68
yan–lag member, limb. 48
yab father (respectful term). 8, 11, 12, 61, 68
yas, see Bsam–
yi–ge letter, text, writing. 2, 6, 22, 53, 74
yi–dags beings in one of the lower realms of existence. 37
yi–dam vow, oath. 74
yid the mind; see also *thugs–*. 33
yin copular verb. 37
yun time
  yun–du for a long time. 67
yul land, country. 4, 14
ye–shes wisdom. 42, 46
yong–gyis = *yong–ye* (?) in all, ever before, at all times. 72

r

Ra–sa an old name for Lha–sa. 7
rang self. 32, 38, 42
  precisely, exactly. 69
  rang–byang–chub = *rang–sangs–rgyas* pratyekabuddha, a buddha who becomes enlightened by his own efforts. 40
rabs, see *gdung–*
rigs right, proper, suitable. 15, 58
ring time, lifetime; see also *sku–*. 7, 9, 12
rim–pa order,series, succession. 36
  rim–par successively, gradually, one after another. 41
rung–ba to be fit, suitable. 56–57, 68
ro finite verb ending; cf. *go*, *ngo*, *to*, *no*, *’o*, *so*. 39, 42
rold, see *pha–*

l

sh

s

song, see *byol–*
srid, see *chab–*
srid–pa to exist, existence. 32
srong, see Khri–
gsan to hear, listen. 22
gsum three; see also *sum*. 5, 20, 33, 62, 69
gser gold. 2
gsol–ba to invoke, call upon, beseech. 24
Bsam–yas name of a place, site of a famous monastery. 3
bsod–nams virtue. 41, 46

h

har, see *bi–*
hur to be quick, active, alert; clever; hasty, passionate
  hur–'dums collusion (?). 12
lha god; see also *sku–*. 14, 36
  lha–ma–yin asura, a class of supernatural beings. 37
Lho–bal name of a people or place (cf. translation, note 5). 14

CASE–GRAMMAR IN THE FIRST TWO TIBETAN GRAMMATICAL TREATISES

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Heinrich August Jäschke (1817–1883), the redoubtable Moravian missionary–scholar to whom Tibetology in general and Tibetan linguistic and lexicographical research in particular are so greatly in debt for all time, was not a man given to mincing his words. More than one entry in his *Tibetan–English Dictionary* (1881) is enlivened by the addition of Jäschke's own generally idiosyncratic views and opinions, over and above its purely lexical information. Always clearly and strikingly expressed, these frequently interpretive and always highly personal ideas of Jäschke in no way detract either from the accuracy or from the value of his lexicographical entries *per se*, from which it is always a simple matter to distinguish them. And even today, more than a century after the passing of the Moravian master of Tibetan studies, we are in more than one instance sorely tempted to agree, if not entirely with his exasperation, then at least in large measure with the censure implied in so many of the refreshingly plain–spoken remarks to be found scattered throughout his dictionary.

A specific and significant example in point is the notice that Jäschke obviously felt deeply impelled to add to his definition of Tib. *rnam–dbye* '[grammatical] case[s]'. To his otherwise completely matter–of–fact entry for this important technical term of the grammarians, he went on to add the following characteristically pungent remark, which has surely attracted the attention of, and for that matter also gladdened the hearts of, more than one user of the dictionary, in many countries, times, and circumstances: "*rnam–dbye* case or cases, of which the Tibetan grammarians, from an excessive regard of the Ssk. language, and in fond imitation of its peculiarities, have also adopted seven in number" (Jäschke 1881: 314^b–315^a).

Few indeed, one suspects, are the foreign students of Tibetan who have not felt somewhat the same as Jäschke on this issue, particularly when they first encounter the usual (and by–and–large canonical) pairing–off of the Sanskrit cases (or, even more frequently, of a kind of "General Indo–European case system" more slanted toward the school–grammars of Latin and Greek than toward specifically Indic models) with what is obviously, even at first glance and even to the tyro, the very different case–grammar of the Tibetan language.

The more one understands of the Tibetan system, the harder put one is to be either consistent or content in this matter of squaring–off its case–suffixed forms and their grammatical and syntactic employment with San-

skrit case–grammar. In Tibetan, the grammatical as well as the so–called logical subjects of intransitive verbs are morphologically unmarked. But the subjects for transitives have the same grammatical marking that under other syntactic circumstances serves for the instrumentals. Also morphologically unmarked are the direct–objects of the transitives — and this is to focus attention at the outset upon only a few of the more striking anomalies that the case–grammar of the Tibetan noun presents when (or, if) we attempt to pair it off against the grammatical and syntactic employment of the noun in Sanskrit.

Nor is the feeling of grammatical unease that this situation can hardly help but engender merely the product of our own parochial familiarity with Western and European grammatical approaches to Tibetan case–grammar. Turning, for example, to the canonical and unquestionably antique treatment of this subject in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (hereafter: MVY), we find the Tibetan case–suffix *la* employed, in that text's paradigm for the inflection of a noun in both Sanskrit and Tibetan, both for the second Sanskrit case (i.e., 'accusative'), as *vṛkṣam* = *shing–la*, *vṛkṣāu* = *shing–dag–la* and *vṛkṣān* = *shing–rnams–la*, as well as for the seventh ('locative'), where the identical Tibetan forms gloss instead Skt *vṛkṣe*, *vṛkṣayoḥ*, and *vṛkṣeṣu* (MVY § ccxi, nos. 4740, 4744, pp. 316–317). One begins, soon enough, to understand something of what it was that led Jäschke to think, and finally to write, of the "Tibetan grammarians['] ...excessive regard of the Ssk. language," not to mention their "fond imitation of its peculiarities...."

But although, of course, much early grammatical lore and learning, and indeed much that is even of genuine linguistic importance, is contained in the pages of the MVY, we can hardly forget that this particular source is after all is said and done essentially a Buddhological lexicon, not a grammatical text or treatise. So it is rather to the evidence preserved in the early grammatical treatises proper — in particular, to the two earliest grammatical treatises traditionally attributed to Thon–mi Sambhoṭa, the *Sum cu pa* and the *Rtags kyi 'jugs pa*, that we are bound to turn if we are determined to pursue this question of the extent, if any, to which it is possible, as well as useful — not to mention rational — to attempt bringing into congruency the case–systems of Tibetan and Sanskrit. And it was, of course, against the background of his own considerable perusal of the grammatical literature proper, not only the later school interpretations but also several of the early, original texts, that Jäschke wrote the characteristically pungent passage that we have cited above.

At first glance — and for that matter, even at second or third view — it would appear that there is much to be said for Jäschke's criticism. Surely all of us who work with Tibetan texts have, at one time or another, shared his exasperation with this question of how we are to square off the Tibetan case–

suffixes with the Sanskrit case–forms, particularly when we become involved in such details as the frequently unmarked nominative function of the Tibetan noun, not to mention its even more frequent nominative–marked–as–instrumental, along with the apparent ambivalence of such Tibetan case–suffixes as the *la* already remarked upon above in connection with the MVY noun paradigm.

But in any question involving the views of the Tibetan grammarians, and especially before we score them too severely for their "excessive regard of the Ssk. language" and their "fond imitation of its peculiarities," we must today always keep in mind the important fact — one of the few facets of this overall problem that is clearer today than it was in Jäschke's time — that it is impossible, as well as incorrect, to speak of a monolithic or diachronically uniform "tradition of the Tibetan grammarians."

Instead, when we are dealing with this or any other question in Tibetan linguistics, we now realize that in the grammarians' tradition we have to reckon with a large body of study, speculation, and frequently even of evidence, that stretches in time for well over a thousand years, reaching from the first two treatises traditionally attributed to Thon–mi Sambhoṭa, down to modern contributions that are still being made to the same tradition. Equally important to keep in mind is the fact that virtually every discreet segment of this continually accumulating system of pyramiding contributions frequently incorporates, *inter alia*, a surprisingly large amount of highly divergent and extremely dissimilar views on almost every possible issue.

Furthermore, in assessing this or any other Tibetan linguistic issue in terms of the grammarians' tradition, we must also necessarily reckon with at least two other important limiting factors that frequently operate to interfere with our perception of the documentary evidence.

The first of these factors involves the generally hermeneutic approach of the later Tibetan grammarians to the first two treatises. The study of these documents, in the Tibetan tradition, has almost always been — and in the modern grammarians today most certainly still is — regarded as a search for significant truth, rather than as an exercise in the ordered historical exegesis of specific given texts.

It goes without saying that many, perhaps most, of the statements in these two texts, but particularly those in the *Sum cu pa*, are terse, frequently to the point of incomprehensibility. This particular aspect of the language of these texts has encouraged the later grammarians to deflect their attention away from what the texts actually say and to focus it instead upon what they believe they should or must have said. What then transpires is more–or–less along the following lines, and as a consequence, generally neither especially edifying nor particularly useful. First, the later school commentators too

often initially assume a fixed hermeneutic position upon a given grammatical issue in one of the first two treatises. Then, they devote themselves to demonstrating, often with remarkable skill and at great length, how the text in question, at least in their reading, may actually perhaps be perceived as saying what they have already determined, most often on a wholly intuitive basis, that it "must" say.

The accident of the terse, often cryptic statements in which the first two treatises so richly abound is of course one of their many special features that readily plays into the hands of this intricate and involute hermeneutical technique, at the same time that it immediately testifies to the early and profound association of these two early texts with Indic grammatical science. But in this particular connection, what has been said of the Indic science carries at least equal weight for its Tibetan offshoot.

L. Renou (1969: 486) wrote, "the interpetation of Pāṇini is possible only with the help of commentaries, which does not mean that one should not make special efforts, as difficult as that may be, to get away at times from those commentaries." It would be folly as well as foolish to attempt to read the first two Tibetan grammatical treatises in isolation from the later interpretations and teachings of the schools, just as "the interpetation of Pāṇini is possible only with the help of commentaries." But at the same time, if we are to arrive at a useful and informative understanding of the historical vicissitudes of the more than a thousand years of the Tibetan tradition that obtains in these matters, we must also, again quite as in the case of Pāṇini, "make special efforts, as difficult as that may be, to get away at times from those commentaries." These special efforts must always begin by reading our earliest grammatical texts from Tibet, and particularly the first two treatises, for what they themselves say, at least as nearly as we can make that out, rather than exclusively, or even mostly, for what the later commentators have, for all their learning and hemeneutical skills, decided to make them say.

The second of these factors concerned involves Tibetan linguistic scholarship by Tibetans hardly at all; nevertheless, it is a most serious matter for the rest of us who are involved with these studies. This has to do in particular with the frequently misleading manner in which a considerable number of the essential Tibetan grammatical texts, including but by no means limited to the first two treatises, have been read and translated in a large number of the basic European (and Japanese) works of the past generation, the same essential works through which those of us in the West at least almost always make our first acquaintance with the Tibetan grammatical tradition.

Important as the ground–breaking monographs of such scholars as Bacot and Schubert were — and remain! — it can not even with all due respect for their authors' accomplishments be overlooked that more frequently than

not they have, particularly in their attempts to translate the terse, succinct statements of the first two treatises, paid insufficient attention to the problems of distinguishing what actually stands in these texts and what is only to be found supplied from the later school traditions. This problem has been further compounded by the equally unfortunate habit of generally not following any given branch of the later school tradition uniformly. Instead, the modern Western and Japanese scholars have too often chosen to pick up bits and pieces that have appeared to fit together into a (to them) coherent whole. But this is to disregard the way this highly subjective process virtually always destroys the historical continuity of the very science that it is attempting to recapitulate.

Admittedly, the above situations easily tend to be rather vaguely abstract considerations, and indeed even threaten to approach the well–known limits of evangelical counsels of perfection. Clearly, that will not do. If they are to have any effective force, they obviously must be illustrated with specific examples. I propose to do that below with particular reference to the issues raised by Jäschke's comments upon the traditional Tibetan interpretation of the language's case–grammar and its system, first exploring just what the first two treatises do actually say about this question, then trying to evaluate, as well as to understand, what the later school commentators have for their own part brought to their own understanding of the statements in the earlier treatises.

That the problem is anything but simple, particularly on the level of what the first two treatises do and — even more importantly! — what they do *not* specifically say concerning this question, is immediately revealed by the fact that we must deal, in these two texts, with what are obviously two quite separate and indeed rather different treatments of Tibetan case–grammar.

In the *Sum cu pa* the primary descriptive statements concerning case are scattered throughout *ślokas* 8, 10, 11 and 15. At first, like so much else in traditional Indic grammatical discourse, all this seems as random as it is frustrating; but of course that is not actually the true situation at all. The apparently random assignment of specific descriptive statements to particular portions of the text here is only part of a larger and quite sophisticated plan or strategy. Most importantly, we soon realize that the assignment of these features is determined by strict, and it must also be remarked by very Indic, considerations of economy exercised in connection with the requirements of morphological description, i.e., the statements for *gis*, etc. in *śl.* 11 follow the statements for *gi* in *śl.* 10, etc.

All this has been done entirely with the goal in view of most succinctly, and as a consequence also most economically, achieving the statements of the morphology of these elements in terms of a single simple suffixation of *–s*, etc., to other elements already stated and described, hence also rendering

it unnecessary to recapitulate the internal details of the elements of these suffixes in terms of any other formal, much less morphological, statements of any variety.

But in the *Rtags kyi 'jug pa*, *śl.* 28, we find another and a different, although still an extremely concise summation of the case–grammar of the language. In contrast to the *Sum cu pa* passages cited *supra*, the *Rtags kyi 'jug pa* exemplar concerning case–grammar is arranged with total, indeed with splendid, disregard for the exigencies of Tibetan morphology and its descriptive imperatives. Instead, it is cast into the usual Indic ordering for the cases and their statement, resp. description. In a word, and in an important sense as well, in this portion of the second early treatise we find ourselves in effect considering the elements of Sanskrit, or at least Indic, and not Tibetan, case–grammar.

For our present purposes it is sufficient to compare in particular the treatment of case in *Sum cu pa*, *śl.* 8, which of all the portions of this text dealing with case–grammar contains the most involved and potentially puzzling presentation of the data, with the first portion of *Rtags kyi 'jug pa*, *śl.* 28, as follows:

SCP 8	*RKJP* 28
...las dang ched dang rten gnas dang de nyid tshe skabs la sgra yin.	...chos dngos las dang byed pa dang sbyin dang 'byung khungs 'brel pa dang gnas dang bod pa'i sgra...

As these texts are rendered in the translation of Bacot (1928: 77, 82), they certainly do appear to bear out Jäschke's imprecations against the grammarians, indeed they would seem to document and at the same time to justify his irascible outburst quite impressively.

The French pioneer scholar of these matters rendered the first passage as, "...les particules de l'accusatif, du datif, du locatif, / Du déterminatif et du locatif de temps," and the second as, "...Le nominatif, l'accusatif, l'instrumental, / Le datif, la provenance, le relatif, / Le locatif, et la vocatif." It must be mentioned, at least in passing but particularly at this point, that these two specific passages, in and of themselves, also give rise to a number of difficult problems concerning the possible textual genesis of both the *Sum cu pa* and the *Rtags kyi 'jug pa* as texts.[1] But even apart from such questions, it would appear from Bacot's understanding, and translation, of these two basic texts, that indeed the situation is quite as Jäschke had described it decades ago, with respect to the Tibetan grammarians' "excessive regard of the Ssk. langauge, and [their] fond imitation of its peculiarities." But is it?

When we read these texts with due regard for what they themselves say, as distinguished from what Bacot's translation has made them say — by drawing as he did quite freely and indiscriminately from later Tibetan commentators on the one hand, and from his own command of "a General Indo–European case system" on the other — we are immediately struck by one important fact. Nowhere do these texts overtly mention "case," even though the passages quoted quite obviously deal in one way or another with what I am here calling "case–grammar." It is the Bacot translations, with their "nominatives," "accusatives," "datives," and all the rest, that claim that the texts make specific, overt reference to grammatical case, and/or to specific case–forms, i.e., as Jäschke alleged, that they force together the case–categories of Sanskrit and Tibetan. But what we find in these ancient texts as they stand is something rather different; it is, instead, at once something rather simpler and at the same time more sophisticated.

Overtly and specifically, there is nothing in either text that speaks directly to or concerning "case forms." Instead, they have, variously, the terms *las*, *chos–dngos*, *ched*, *byed–pa*, *rten–gnas*, and the like. Each of these terms is clearly in debt to Indic systems and theories of grammar. Each is best understood as an early Tibetan calque upon an Indic original. And each can only be usefully approached through the process of identifying and understanding the Indic original that lies behind it.

A convenient starting place is provided by the *chos–dngos* of the *Rtags kyi 'jug pa* passage. This Tibetan term for the nominative, or more properly for the first case in the traditional Indic ordering of the cases, is unknown to the *Sum cu pa*. It is transparently based upon the canonical, and Pāṇinian, approach to this case, where the nominatives are treated as the case to be used when only the "blosse begriff des stammes...bezeichnet werden soll" (Liebich 1886: 10.227 § 84). We might wish to translate the Tibetan, in the light of its Indic original, as something along the lines of 'the actual entity itself', or 'the actual entity of the dharmas'.[2] So also for the *las* with which the Tibetan texts render the grammarians' *karman* for the second Indic case (this both in Pāṇini and the *Kātantra*).[3]

But with all this said and done, it still remains for us to confront the basic linguistic issue lurking behind this entire terminological jungle. What are the Tibetan grammarians, following their Indic models as indeed they are, actually talking about in these texts when they make overt lexical reference to *las*, *chos–dngos*, and the like? Are they directly attributing Indic, and specifically Sanskrit, case–forms and case–grammar to their own language, despite its almost totally different structuring and formation in all these matters?

Once we have given the actual nature and function of the Indic models that lie behind these Tibetan terms fuller and more mature consideration than Bacot and the other pioneer students of these texts were able to do, and

also once we have seen something of what these models themselves represent within Indic linguistic science, the answer not only becomes clear. It also turns out to present a variety of linguistic analysis and description considerably more sophisticated than Jäschke's remarks (and Bacot's translations) would at first glance lead us to believe.

In a word, what we have in these first two early treatises cited above — and what we shall also find inherent in the interpretation and reading of these texts throughout the later Tibetan school traditions — is *not* a mechanical equation of the case-forms of these two different linguistic systems with one another. Instead, it is in reality a treatment of Tibetan case-grammar in terms of the much-discussed, and enormously involved, Indic theory of the *kāraka*, i.e., of what has been magisterially summed up, and in effect even succinctly defined, as the "syntacto-semantic categories" of the Indic grammarians (Cardona 1976: 340, n. 279).

In this their theory, or better, in this their systematization of the *kārakas*, the Indic grammarians succeeded, with an astonishing degree of success, in establishing a typically subtle, and as a consequence also frequently difficult to explain, system that serves for analyzing and categorizing the correlations that exist between the overt morphological and syntactic realizations that we find in our texts, particularly in those correlations between nominals and verbals that always play such a major role in those same texts. This they do by identifying and naming certain specific semantic categories that may be established, on the basis of our understanding of the meanings of those same texts, categories with which the forms in question appear at the same time to be by-and-large functioning in parallel.

Most briefly stated, those portions of the *Sum cu pa* and the *Rtags kyi 'jug pa* cited above confront us, on closer inspection, with exactly this Indic *kāraka* conceptualization of the correlations between grammatical forms and their syntactic functions — in this instance, and specifically, the correlations between Tibetan nominals and their case-suffixes on the one hand and the syntactic roles of those secondarily derived complexes on the other. And by the same token, what we do *not* have here are specific instances or examples of individual Sanskrit case-forms mechanically aligned with specific Tibetan formations or functions.

To say, as we have just done, that what is at issue here is not the forms and functions of Tibetan nominals-*cum*-case-suffixes *per se*, but rather their "syntacto-semantic categories," i.e., the higher level correlations that the Indic grammarians refer to as *kāraka*, is obviously not to solve the problem, so much as to suggest the direction in which it would appear fruitful to direct future research along these lines. There is hardly anything in Indic grammar more involved, more subtle, and today, in the Western Indological-linguistic literature at least, more mercilessly moot than is the entire technique, con-

cept, and descriptive implications of the *kāraka* concept, in all of its many ramifications.

But at the very least, the Tibetanist who must reluctantly struggle with the manifold implications and intricacies of this system may take some cold comfort from the fact that, for a far longer period of time, and in the course of the considerably more rigorous history of Western Indology, the understanding of the original *kāraka* perception and conceptualization on the part of Western students of Indic languages has been, if anything, equally if not more fraught with shoals and perils at virtually every turn.

The discussion of the *kāraka* concept in the West begins in a justly notorious exchange between Whitney and Liebich in the 1890s.[4] Most recently we have the lucid and eminently useful summation of a vast body of contemporary literature on the question by G. Cardona (1976: 215–221). There the principal issues of this question are rehearsed with such even–handed balance and clarity that even the non–Indologist is tempted to believe it possible to understand something of what is going on here.

And what is going on would appear to be first the description and then the analysis of syntactic relationships in language initially on the basis of the recognition and postulation of a rather surprisingly small set of discrete, specific semantic–relationship sets, which in turn are the *kāraka*s proper. Subsequently the *kāraka* categories become the basis for carefully stated correlations between these semantic–relationship sets and the overt morphological forms and formations that serve, in the texts, to indicate the functions of the same sets. As Cardona has expressed it, "the *kāraka* rules are categorization rules which assign to categories such as *karman* 'object' etc. participants in actions that would semantically be eligible for different classification"; as a consequence "these rules indeed constitute a distinct classificatory level which mediates between semantics and grammatical expressions" (Cardona 1976: 222).

Equally apposite to our present purposes is the description of Renou: "[l]e *k*[*āraka*] est un concept abstrait, qui ne coïncide pas avec un "cas" ou une "désinence" (*vibhakti*): ainsi le datif exprime éventuellement le *karman*..., le génetif le *karaṇa*..., le *karman*..., le *kartṛ*, etc." (1942 i: 127). Another useful account, if only because of its studied brevity, is that of Shefts, identifying the *kāraka* as "the semantic factors which make up the action complex," while simultaneously showing that in the Indic systems, specific, overt case–endings such as 'nominative' or 'accusative' or 'instrumental' "identify — e.g., as to gender...the entities which function as agent [*kartṛ*] or object [*karman*]; *they do not indicate these functions*" (Shefts 1961: 8, n. 14, 9; emphasis added).

With this smattering of the details of *kāraka* theory and of its system of grammatical–syntactic description and analysis in hand we are in a position to turn back to our Tibetan materials and to attempt to provide answers to

Table 1.

Inaba's Glosses	Sum cu pa	Pāṇini	Kātantra	Candravṛtti
'accusative case'	*las*	*karman* (I,4,43)	*karman* (II,4,19)	
'instrumental case'	*byed-pa-po*	*kartṛkaraṇa* (II,3,18)	*kartṛ* (II,4,33)	*kartṛ* (II,1,62)
'dative case'	*ched*		*arthya* (II,4,27)	*arthya* (II,1,79)
'ablative case'	*'byung-khungs*	*apādāna* (I,4,24; II,3,28)	*apādāna* (II,4,19)	
'genitive case'	*'brel-ba*			*saṁbhandha* (II,1,95)
'locative case of place'	*rten-gnas*	*ādhāra* (I,4,45)		*ādhāra* (II,1,88)
'locative case of time'	*tshe-skabs*		*kāla* (II,4,34)	

the questions to which they give rise. It should not surprise us that we do not find in the Tibetan grammatical texts, and particularly in the *Sum cu pa*, the canonical Pāṇinian *kāraka* system intact. If we did, something would be wrong. For most of its history, the Tibetan grammatical tradition has quite naturally, in view of its Buddhist proclivities, drawn not upon orthodox Pāṇinian sources for most of its models and materials, but instead upon a rather eclectic selection made from among the long–standing variety of non–Pāṇinian sources of common circulation in Buddhist quarters. Nevertheless, the resulting accumulation of details that we find in our Tibetan sources still essentially falls within the Indic model as typically represented elsewhere by Pāṇinian standards; here, as so often is the case, the similarities outweigh the differences.

Inaba (1954: 15) has drawn up a useful and informative tabular summary, simultaneously registering the *Sum cu pa* terminology from this portion of its grammar, and confronting that terminology with its putative sources in Indic models, both Pāṇinian and non–Pāṇinian. We take the liberty of reproducing that as Table 1 opposite, intact except for translating its original Japanese glosses into English, both because Inaba's original study is not widely available to Western Tibetologists, and because it proves to be of considerable utility for this particular portion of the present contribution.

For the Indologist, the most striking feature demonstrated by Inaba's careful and informative tabular summary of these Tibetan grammatical terms in terms of their putative Indic models will probably be the highly eclectic nature of the Tibetan system. But for the Tibetologist, its principal interest will rather, I suggest, attach to the problem of the correct identification of just what it is such terms as the *Sum cu pa*'s *las*, *byed–pa–po*, *ched*, etc., when applied to questions of Tibetan case–grammar, actually refer to, i.e., the all–important question of just what it is that, in more or less precise terms, these words "mean."

Once viewed in this light, Inaba's table makes two things in particular quite clear at the outset. The portion of *Sum cu pa, śl.* 8 cited *supra* is not, *per se*, either a description of or a prescription for the employment of specific nominal case–forms ("désinences"). Nor, most importantly, does it attempt to make any provision for equating, rightly or wrongly, the case–inflections of Sanskrit with the case–suffixes of Tibetan. Rather what it does is to give a methodical list of the *kāraka* categories, in the form(s) in which the Tibetan grammarians found these categories already analyzed and described for them in those sections or portions of the Indic grammatical canon with which they were most familiar. From those segments of the canon the author(s) of the *Sum cu pa* (whoever he, she [?] or they may have been) in turn selected those specific elements that appeared to them most nearly to describe the syntacto–semantic parameters of those particular Tibetan case–suffixes for which this specific *śloka* of the *Sum cu pa* had already, in its earlier portions

(not cited *supra*), provided the phonotactic formulae necessary in order to generate the forms concerned, i.e., *.su*, *.ru*, *.du*, *.na*, and *.la* (*śl.* 8.1–8).

Even on the purely superficial level of the text itself this is all but self-evident, since nowhere, either at *śl.* 8 or elsewhere does this first treatise make any specific reference to 'case' (*rnam-dbye* = *vibhakti*). What it does instead is to list Tibetan calque-equivalents for an eclectic, and somewhat expanded, list of *kāraka* relationships, with *las* for *karman*, *ched* for *arthya*, *rten-gnas* for *ādhāra*, and *tshe-skabs* for *kāla*. These *kāraka* relationships are, it then proceeds to say in effect, the elements that are at issue in the usage of the Tibetan case-suffixes *.su*, etc., as already listed.

What the *śloka* does *not* say is what it has always been translated in the West, and in Japan also, as saying, viz. that the Tibetan suffixes *.su*, etc., are case-suffixes that, after affixation, generate case-forms that are the same as the Sanskrit case-forms that are, in their turn, required for the sytacto-semantic relationships that the grammarians categorize as *karman*, *arthya*, etc. These remain, in the tradition and science of the Tibetan grammarians, two quite separate and distinct elements of linguistic reality. For all the problems and difficulties of their texts, and while freely admitting the frequent lapses and ambiguities that often detract from the clarity and force of their discourse — as they always do from all scientific discourse, our own included — conflating, much less confusing, these two discreet aspects of our present subject is not a charge that may with any justification be laid to the account of the Tibetan grammatical exegetes and hermeneuts. It remained for the Westerners, and the Japanese, to come along later in history to do that.

Be that as it may, this necessary, and for that matter virtually self-evident, distinction between case-forms and the syntacto-semantic relationships which they categorize, i.e., the essential Indic distinction between *vibhakti* and *kāraka* is, as I have indicated, the first of the two most important things that may, in this way, be established both about this particular text and also about the Tibetan grammarians' traditional approach to the issue of case-grammar in general. The second is somewhat more limited in scope and significance. It deals specifically with the broader implications of the first for the further reading and interpretation of *Sum cu pa, śl.* 8, particularly with the reading and interpretation of the expressions *de nyid* in 8.10.

Traditionally in Tibet *de nyid* in this passage has generally been understood as the name of yet another *kāraka* relationship (or, conversely, by the foreign translators as the name of yet another case). The various schools have not, however, been able to agree among themselves very convincingly upon the identity of the constructions thus supposed to have been specified by the text of the first treatise. In fact, there are, within the grammatical literature itself, a number of fairly shocking differences of opinion on this question.

Moreover, in one of the earliest commentaries upon the first grammatical treatise attributed to Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, the *Slob dpon anus mdzad pa'i bod kyi skad kyi gsung rab la 'jug tshul sum cu pa'i rnam 'grel* by Dharmapālabhadra (1441–1528),[5] we find him writing of *de nyid* in this passage in such a way as to impose the conclusion that at least this early commentator understood *de nyid* here not as a technical term on a level with the other technical terms of the passage, but merely as part of the expository language of the text itself; in fact we find Dharmapālabhadra paraphrasing it simply as *de kho-na nyid*.[6] This also flatly contradicts most of the other, and almost exclusively later, Tibetan school-teachings about this *de nyid*, for they held that, whatever else it may mean or may have meant, the construction it stipulates did *not* allow either *la* or *na* — which, needless to add, would immediately rule out Dharmapālabhadra's own single paraphrastic explanation-in-expansion, *de kho-na nyid*!

Instead, the consensus of the Tibetan schools has been that the *Sum cu pa*'s *de nyid* in this *śloka* somehow originally had reference to Tibetan cognate-object constructions of the type *'dod-du 'tshor* '(to) shine in (*or*, as) a light' = 'the light shines'. To be sure, this variety of cognate-object structure is a particular and frequently encountered hallmark of Buddhist Sanskrit, where it would quite naturally have come to the early attention of the Tibetan grammarians.[7]

As might well be expected from this brief précis of the literature, the precise nature of the *kāraka* relationship thought to be indicated in the first treatise by the term *de nyid* has proven to be one of the most fruitful, and least conclusive, topics for speculation among the later grammarians. The entire question remains to be treated in satisfactory detail. For the time being, all that I propose to do here is to offer the suggestion that, *pace* the later grammarians, it is at least also useful to consider the possibility that in the *Sum cu pa* text itself *de nyid* does not actually indicate yet another *kāraka* relationship at all, but rather that it is simply part of the grammar of the *ślōka* passage itself, so that in effect ...*rten gnas dang / de nyid tshe skabs*... is to be understood along the lines of '...the *ādhāra* [*kāraka*] and the *kāla* [*kāraka*], which last is of the same nature or essence (*de nyid*) as the former... .' In other words, the function of *de nyid* in this *śloka* would then be to indicate the commonality of the syntacto-semantic relationship existing between *rten-gnas* and *tshe-skabs*, the same commonality upon which Inaba (somewhat loosely if not actually incorrectly) is basing himself when he refers to both as different varieties of the locative.

Finally, but significantly, it remains to point out that the term *tshe-skabs* itself is one of the most obvious indications that we have from this portion of the early grammatical corpus for the preservation of a virtually intact calque, in our Tibetan materials, upon an Indic original, here specifically *Kātantra*

II, 4, 34, *kālabhāvayoḥ saptamī* 'der Lokativ (steht) zur Bezeichnung von Zeit und Zustand' (Liebich 1919: 47).

For their part, the later commentators upon the first two treatises mostly engage in a display of conflation of originally disparate elements. They are clearly aware of the *kāraka* implications of their texts (which the foreign scholars have not generally been); but at the same time they engage, not always with complete success, in the didactic exercise of attempting to equate these syntacto–semantic categories drawn from the Indic materials with specific morphological features from their own Tibetan. Once we realize what they are doing, the texts that they have left us may be read and studied with profit. It is only when we approach what the later commentators have written without sufficient insight into the Indic origins of their statements that they threaten to lead us astray. Tracing these general tendencies of the later Tibetan grammatical literature in detail, and documenting the above overall categorizations with necessary precision, are both enormous tasks that obviously cannot be undertaken here, despite their importance. For the moment, it will however perhaps suffice to cite a short but typical passage from the great commentary on the first grammatical treatise by the Si–tu Mahāpaṇḍita, Chos–kyi–'byung–gnas (1699–1774), together with an English version that should indicate, in general terms at least, how this authority in particular went about his own version of this always highly involved exegetical exercise:

> *...skyabs su mchi'o lta bu rnam dbye gnyis pa las su bya ba'i don can du sbyar na las kyi sgra dang / dbul phongs la sbyin pa gtong lta bu ched du bya ba'i don can yin na / dgos ched kyi sgra dang / shar phyogs su yod lta bu bdun pa gnas gzhi'i don can yin na / rten gnas kyi sgra dang... / nyi ma shar ba na chos ston / lta bu dus brjod pa'i bdun pa yin na tshe skabs kyi sgrar shes par bya dgos shing...*[8]

> ...when affixed in the sense of carrying out the action, i.e., the second case, as in ...*śaraṇam gacchāmi*, [the form being described in the *śloka*] is the suffix marking *karman* (*las–kyi sgra*); when in the sense of carrying out something for a purpose, as 'to give alms for the poor', it is the suffix marking the dative; when affixed in the sense of location, i.e., the seventh [case], as in 'to be in the east', it is the suffix for marking the locative...and when [it is that special instance] of the seventh [case] that expresses time, as in 'to expound the *dharma* when the sun rises', it must be understood as being the affix for 'time and operation' (*kālabhāva*).[9]

The same erudite and prolific Mahāpaṇḍita's comments upon *śl.* 12 of the second grammatical treatise are similarly full of interest; again, for present purposes only a fragment must suffice:

> *las gang zhig byed pa po gzhan dang dngos su 'brel ba'i dbang du byas nas / byed pa po'i dngos po de nyid dang de'i byed pa dang bcas pa la ni bdag ces bya zhing / des bsgrub par bya ba'i yul gyi dngos po bya ba dang bcas pa la ni gzhan zhes bya'o /*[10]
>
> When a situation is actually (*dngos–su*) concerned with a specific *karman* (*las*) and a specific *kartṛ* (*byed–pa–po*), then the *bhāva* itself of the *kartṛ* together with its *kriyā* (*byed–pa*) are termed *ātman* (*bdag*), while the *bhāva* of the *viṣaya* (*yul*) to be accomplished by that *kartṛ* together with the *kārya* (*bya–ba*) are termed *para* (*gzhan*).[11]

Earlier we noted how *Kātantra* II, 4, 34 had already deeply involved the entire discussion of these issues with the Indic grammarians' *bhāva* concept and theories — and if there is anything in the world of linguistic scholarship more involved than *kāraka*, it is *bhāva*. But the Tibetan commentators do make elaborate use of *bhāva* in their work (cf. MVY 4716, *dngos* = *bhāva*), so that this too is one of the many subtle and involved areas of linguistic theory with which anyone attempting to read Tibetan grammatical texts, or seeking to translate the first two treatises, must first of all become at least moderately familiar.

At the outset, the Mahāpaṇḍita's dichotomy, as above, between *bdag* and *gzhan*, which has already in the West and in Japan led to much feckless speculation and secondary theorizing, must certainly be referred to its putative Indic origins. In this connection, there immediately comes to mind the "distinction between an internal (*ābhyantara*) *bhāva* and an external (*bāhya*) *bhāva*" of which G. Cardona has written (1970: 217).[12] Surely it is not in the least surprising that the concept of the *kāraka*, the idea of "a thing viewed in relation to an action, in the accomplishment of which it plays a given role" (Cardona 1976: 215), should have found a ready reception among the Tibetans. Nor is it in any way unexpected that the dichotomy between *kāraka* on the one hand and overt case–grammar marking on the other should also have fascinated them, given the essentially Tantric dichotomy between *sgra* 'words, phrases, linguistic conventions, linguistic meaning' and *don* 'propositional content, reference, referent, purpose of a speech–act' (Broido 1983: 219) that was for so long so deeply rooted at the very heart of Tibetan religion and life.

Nor does one dwell, even in this brief fashion, upon the shortcomings and failures of earlier scholars in this or any other field either to hold them up to scorn or to denigrate their contributions to science. Without the efforts of such hardy pioneers as Schubert and Bacot, and without the work of diligent Japanese students of these texts such as Inaba, we today would know but little of the achievements of the Tibetan grammatical tradition, and probably understand even less of what we do know. But the best, and indeed in this

particular instance the only way in which we can effectively honor their memories is to begin the difficult, and frequently also the distasteful, task of redirecting their work in those instances where, it now appears, they were rather frequently misled by the manifold difficulties and subtleties of these generally perplexing texts.

In the case of case, it now turns out, Jäschke was, for once, wrong. But by studying, as I have attempted to do here, the details underlying his exasperation and hence ultimately also his error, I hope that it has been possible to make also a small positive contribution — in a word, to borrow a line from the most recent paper by Professor Nils Simonsson, "to demonstrate that the Tibetans integrated one of the greatest of the Indian achievements into their own culture, treating the new scholarship they adopted with the same impressive independence as the Indians themselves had already done in the course of the many centuries of their admirable history" (1984–1986: 389).

NOTES

1 These are issues that would take us here too far afield. I have attempted to deal with them elsewhere, especially in my paper "The first two Tibetan grammatical treatises as known to Sa skya Paṇḍita" read at the Munich Tibetological Congress in July, 1985, now in press for the *Proceedings* of those meetings.

2 For further details, see my Munich paper cited above.

3 On these and other Tibetan–Indic calques in this area of the grammar, the list drawn up by Inaba Shōju (1954: 15 § 5) is both reliable and informative.

4 A useful selection of readings, informative but generally unedifying, is available in Staal 1972: 158–192.

5 Tōhoku Zōgai 7071; *de nyid* passages at p. 6b, line 3, and p. 7a, line 4. I am most grateful to Professor Takeuchi Tsuguhito (Kyoto) who finally was able to provide me with a xerox of this text in the collection of the Chibetto Butten Kenkyūkai; but the reader who will wish to verify the original is hereby warned that the folios of the xylograph in the Japanese collection have been printed in a largely random order, so that in reading the text the first necessary step is to put them back in their original sequence.

6 Unfortunately the translation of this text by Inaba (1974: 48, 49) is somewhat less faithful than we generally expect with the work of this meticulous scholar. The result is that the point here being made is largely obscured by his otherwise invaluable Japanese version.

7 In this connection, interesting and important information is easily available in two papers by the Indian scholar S. Sen. In Sen 1926: 657, he early noted that a remarkable feature [of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhist Sanskrit usage] is the abundant use of the cognate accusative, especially with verbs meaning "to speak." Further study strengthened this impression on the part of Sen, so that by the time of Sen 1928: 65, he specifically listed "greater use of the cognate accusative" as the third of his syntactic criteria separating the language of "classical Sanskrit" from the language of Aśvaghoṣa. In this second contribution, Sen saw Buddhist Sanskrit's favoring of the cognate accusative as a trace of Vedic inheritance, rather than as a feature in a direct line of historical–linguistic descent from "classical Sanskrit"; and he further attempted (1928: 5–10) a fairly elaborate subclassification of this feature as he found it in the texts then available to him. Cf. also Edgerton 1953: 1.43a, § 7.20 sqq.

8 Citing the modern Dharamsala edition (1979?), p. 19, lines 2–7.

9 On pp. 30–31. With the final statement of this fragment, we are, it will immediately be noticed, back to the *Kātantra* passage cited immediately *supra*; otherwise, for the canonical equivalents *skyabs-su mchi'o* = *śaraṇam gacchāmi*, cf. MVY 8689–91, and for *bya-ba* = *kārya*, MVY 7198, 1082.

10 Ed. cit., p. 57, lines 9-11.

[11] The translation in Durr (1950: 51) is rather different.

[12] Other implications of the concept of *bhāva* as known to and elaborated upon among the Tibetan grammarians are examined and discussed in my paper "Tib. *dngos* (*po*), Skt. *bhāva*" scheduled to appear in the special issue of *The Tibet Journal* in honor of Burmiok Athing Densapa (in press).

TIBETAN MONASTIC CONSTITUTIONS: THE *BCA'-YIG*[1]

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Introduction

Bca'-yig, perhaps an unfamiliar term even to those who are widely read in the scholarly literature on Tibet, is the name for a document outlining the basic principles, institutions, roles, and rules governing the organization and operation of a Tibetan monastic community. "Constitution" is a widely familiar term, popularly equated with documents outlining the fundamental principles and rules of government of state polities as diverse in nature and structure as the United States of America and the People's Republic of China. The parallel between these documentary forms is relevant to this discussion, but only at a relatively superficial level. Clarification of the relationship between *bca'-yig* and "Tibetan monastic constitutions" requires a more precise understanding of "constitution" than that afforded by the popular connotation of the term.

In the usage of political science and political anthropology, the "constitution" of a polity encompasses all of its fundamental governing principles, institutions, and traditional practices, whether or not codified in a single written document or closed corpus of documents (cf. Gould and Kolb 1964: 131–134). Thus, for example, the British "constitution" encompasses documentary components dating back at least to Magna Carta, as well as non–documentary components. The *bca'-yig* derived from sources such as common law and the traditional (and historically changing) rights and responsibilities of geographic, class, and other subdivisions of the larger polity. In smaller–scale, non–literate societies such as the Ashanti (Rattray 1929) and the Cheyenne (Hoebel 1954: 149 ff.), "constitutions" as fundamental and normatively binding as those of literate states may be found in traditional institutions and customs preserved in the complete absence of documentary codification. It may be argued that written constitutional documents, wherever they do exist, are never more than incomplete outlines of the more comprehensive, actual constitution of a polity — as, for example, in the case of the United States of America, where specific criteria of "constitutionality" are continually extended and reinterpreted by court decisions which apply documented constitutional principles to previously undocumented cases and circumstances.

Thus, the Tibetan *bca'-yig* are "constitutions" in the sense that they are constitutional–documentary outlines of part of a more extensive body of documentary and traditional fundamentals of monastic government. Since the actual "monastic constitution" may encompass large segments of oral

tradition (Geshe Lhundrup Sopa, private communication; hereafter Sopa), the *bca'-yig* must be regarded primarily as documentary sources for the study of monastic constitutions, which extend to a scope greater than the material embodied in the written sources.[2]

Monastic constitutions, in this more inclusive sense, have been included in the subject matter of various studies on Tibet. Besides Geshe G. Lodrö's (1974) monograph on Drepung, the most complete study to date of a Tibetan monastery, important knowledge of the structure and principles of operation of monastic communities has been supplied in anthropological studies by B. Miller (1958), R. Miller (1959), C. von Fürer-Haimendorf (1964, 1976), and C. Cassinelli and R. Ekvall (1969). Such studies have been based primarily either on ethnohistorical reconstructions, on fieldwork in Himalayan areas bordering Tibet, or on a combination of these two methodologies. Each entails particular limitations: limitations of informants' personal knowledge and accuracy of memory, on the one hand, and limitations of the degree of comparability of borderland conditions to "mainstream" Tibetan culture, on the other. Furthermore, since the selection of information obtainable by both methods is subject to control by the researcher, it is also subject to limitations and distortions introduced by "blindspots" in the researcher's cultural and theoretical orientation. The *bca'-yig* affords a partial control on such limitations and distortions by presenting a normative outline of monastic structure elicited entirely outside the researcher's control, arranged in terms of culture-specific categories and concerns.

The general value for Tibetan studies of a document-based, literate-anthropological approach is access to important sources of information ordinarily lost in the disciplinary and methodological gap between anthropology, Tibetology, and Buddhist studies. The particular value of the *bca'-yig* as a resource for understanding the internal structure and workings of the monastic system is all too apparent when, despite great advances since the mid-twentieth century in other aspects of Tibetological research, we consider the extent to which Tibetan monasteries are still widely characterized as mysterious enclaves of "priests," Rasputin-like powers behind thrones, and hordes of ignorant fanatics who periodically and inexplicably march forth to topple governments. To my knowledge, this resource has been touched on only by Fürer-Haimendorf (1964: 150-151),[3] who gives what appears to be an abridged summary of the contents of one *bca'-yig* — unfortunately, one which is neither particularly comprehensive nor well-organized, and which pertains to a geographically and historically ambiguous context. It seems that a broadly comparative approach is dictated by the nature of the *bca'-yig* themselves. Since they outline the fundamentals of monastic polity without attempting to provide every last detail of procedure, and since they vary widely in degree of comprehensiveness, supplementary information from non-documentary sources is required for a better understanding of the political

system of any given monastery. Moreover, the independent variability of both the *bca'-yig* themselves (in terms of comprehensiveness, structure, and specific contents) and the monastic communities to which they refer (philosophical vs. ritual/Tantric orientations, unitary vs. collegiate organizational structures, etc.) precludes a simple interpretation of the nature and function of *bca'-yig* by recourse to one or a few representative examples. Nevertheless, a broad survey of *bca'-yig* reveals not only a wide range of variation, but also frequently-occurring similarities which, taking due account of variations in the documents and supplementary data from non-documentary sources, provides what might be considered a general outline of normative monastic polity. This study attempts to provide a preliminary sketch of such an outline by comparison and synthesis of data drawn from a preliminary survey of fifty-one *bca'-yig* dating from the early fifteenth to the early twentieth centuries, covering a wide range of monastery types, sizes, and locations. Supplementary information on monastic constitutions in the broader sense of the term is derived from fieldwork in Tibetan refugee monasteries, from ethnohistorical research with former members of monastic communities in Tibet, and from related documents dating from the twelfth century onwards.

Such a study might be an end in itself, given the widely-accepted importance of monasteries in the Tibetan political system, and the surprising lack of scholarly attention to their inner workings and structure. However, there are more fundamental and universal implications of a study of the *bca'-yig*. An additional connotation of the term "constitution" shared by both scholarly and popular usages is the notion of constitutionalism, the institutionalization of restraints against the arbitrary exercise of political power. Such restraints are clearly documented in the *bca'-yig*; and their presence not only establishes one of the most important conceptual links between *bca'-yig* and "constitution," but may help us to a better understanding of the nature of constitutions and constitutionalism themselves in the wider context of human political affairs.

Sources of Bca'-yig

The name *bca'-yig* is a contraction of *dge-'dun-la 'khrims-su bca'-ba'i yi-ge*, "a document (*yi-ge*) establishing (*bca'-ba'i*) law (*'khrims*) for the Buddhist Sangha (*dge-'dun*)." This etymological definition of *bca'-yig* is conceptually related to a modern secular Tibetan term for "constitution," *rtsa-'khrims* (Goldstein and Nornang 1970: 336; Dhongthog 1973: 80), or literally, "root law." However, for the sake of clarity, it seems preferable to set aside etymological considerations and to take *bca'-yig* as a technical term meaning "monastic constitutional document."

Three bodies of source material appear to have influenced the development of the *bca'-yig* tradition in Tibet.

A. Historical Precedents: Both the concept and content of *bca'-yig* must have been influenced in part by Tibetan traditions of secular "royal" or

national law (*rgyal-po'i 'khrims*), which had their origin in the period of the old Tibetan kingdom of the seventh to ninth centuries A.D. However, unlike later Tibetan secular legal codes following the Buddhist resurgence which began in the tenth century, the *bca'-yig* do not usually cite the Indian *arthaśāstra* literature on statecraft for precedents or basic principles (e.g., Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho 1681, who cites *Bstan 'gyur* sources attributed to Cānakya). Thus, some divergence of basic concepts and sources in secular and monastic legal traditions seems apparent even in the period of Buddhist and Indian-derived cultural influence.

Little documentary evidence remains of the complex body of law attributed (e.g., by Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag-'phreng-ba 1565 iv: 18b-23b, where citations and excerpts from six codes are given) to the royal period of Tibetan history. The fragmentary legal documents which survive from this period (e.g., Tun-huang document P. T. 1071) show some parallels with elements of the later *bca'-yig* documents, including a tendency towards precise definition of status and responsibilities of official functionaries, and specific provisions against arbitrary abuses. Although such emphases are also found in the later secular code of Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho (1681; cf. the strictures placed on abuse of official office, taxation, and *'u-lag* corvée labor in Chapter 1 and elsewhere), as well as in the *bca'-yig* documents, the rather loosely-structured authoritarian tone of much of the surviving documentation on secular law (e.g., the *Bod kyi khrims yig chen mo*) contrasts strongly with the closely-defined formulations on individual rights and responsibilities of the *bca'-yig* literature. The considerable difference between the two traditions is well expressed by the Tibetan proverb: "The king's [secular] law is a yoke of gold; religious law is a silken thread."

Among the earlier sources sometimes cited in *bca'-yig* are testaments (*bka'-'chems*), regulations (*bsgrigs-yig*), and established traditions of practice. The specific documentary precursors of *bca'-yig* may be the deathbed testaments of monastic founders and leaders. One of the earliest such documents, a testament left by Lama Zhang (n.d.) to his successors at Tshal Gung-thang Monastery in the twelfth century, contains *bca'-yig*-like prescriptions for aspects of monastic governance; these are interspersed with recurring poetic reminders of the author's impending death to create a strikingly unusual document. Two later testamentary documents left by Bu-ston (n.d. a, n.d. b) in the fourteenth century at Zhwa-lu show a more formal, conventional resemblance to *bca'-yig*. However, the earliest examples in my possession of monastic constitutional documents explicitly designated as *bca'-yig* are two (the second forming a set of supplements and amendments to the first) written by Tsong-kha-pa (n.d. a, n.d. b) in the early fifteenth century for the monastery of Byams-pa-gling, south of Lhasa.

Lists of regulations exist in various historical and modern forms (see, for example, Mkhyen-rab Bstan-pa-chos-'phel n.d. a), and constitute an

important supplementary body of documentation alongside of the *bca'-yig* themselves. Still more important from the constitutional standpoint is established tradition, which may historically precede, and inevitably supplements, the constitutional outline documented in the *bca'-yig*. Some *bca'-yig* (e.g., that of Sera Monastery; Dalai Lama VII 1737) incorporate specific clauses guaranteeing non-interference with certain individual and group rights established by previous tradition, while others cite tradition as one of the guiding principles used in formulating the *bca'-yig*.

B. Specific authority: *Bca'-yig* are composed by an outside arbitrator selected as a prestigious and knowledgeable representative of religious tradition, in response to specific requests and conditions conveyed by representatives of the monastic community. Except in cases of initial requests by individual founders of monastic communities for composition of a *bca'-yig* for a new monastery in process of being founded, the commission to compose a *bca'-yig* is usually conveyed by members of the governing council acting as representatives of the monastic community as a whole, or, according to some *bca'-yig*, by all the monks voting together in assembly. Specified conditions may include strict adherence to former traditions, inclusion of structural or procedural changes, and so on. Thus, in the case of revised *bca'-yig* for monasteries with long-established traditions, lengthy consultations might be required — as in the case of the 1737 Sera *bca'-yig*, requested after a reorganization of the monastery's collegiate subdivisions, where the issues were so complex that the new *bca'-yig* was not completed until sixteen years after receipt of the first request for its composition (Dalai Lama VII 1737: 360–361).

C. Buddhist Vinaya: Nearly all *bca'-yig* begin with a discussion of the fundamental principles governing life in the monastic community. Such discussions are formulated in terms of the primacy of disciplined conduct or "methodical rules" (*tshul-'khrims*) in general, and of Buddhist monastic discipline or Vinaya (*'dul-ba*) in particular. Discipline is generally held in the *bca'-yig* to be the "root" of religious practice and the basis of monastic life — barring the admissable exception of communities of "Tantric householders," laypeople who assume the outward signs (*rtags*) of monks and perform rituals without adhering to full disciplinary rules (Dalai Lama VII n.d. a: 329–330) — and a cause sometimes cited for composing a *bca'-yig* is the need to establish clear Vinaya standards where none have existed before (e.g., Dalai Lama VII n.d. b: 457 ff.).

The Vinaya is itself a codified source of monastic constitutional law. Formulated in the context of Indian Buddhism, and common in variant renditions to all Asian Buddhist traditions, the Vinaya literature consists of categorically-grouped listings of disciplinary rules, along with accounts of cases regarded as precedents either for application of the rules, or for allowing exceptions to them. A concise introduction to Vinaya literature in general,

as well as to the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya tradition followed in Tibet, is given in Prebish (1975); and, for comparative material from the Theravāda Buddhist tradition, excellent studies from both practical and scholarly orientations are furnished by Vajirañāṇavarorasa (1973 and 1969, respectively).

From the standpoint of Buddhist history and literature, *bca'-yig* might be taken as a specialized development of the tradition of Vinaya commentary. However, to reduce the relationship between Vinaya and *bca'-yig* to such a characterization would miss the point that the *bca'-yig* is an instrument of practical government. Unlike the Vinaya literature, *bca'-yig* show no tendency towards detailed enumeration of all the possible permutations of personal and interpersonal acts, or towards classifying them in abstract soteriologically-ordered hierarchies. Instead, the *bca'-yig* condense the details of Vinaya into basic principles of communal life and government, and articulate soteriological concepts into specific guidelines for the conduct of religious communities. Thus, for example, of all the *bca'-yig* examined for this study, only one, the *bca'-yig* of the Rnying-ma-pa monastery of Rdo-rje-brag, gives a full listing of all the two hundred and fifty-three specific vows required of monks in the Vinaya (Padma-'phrin-las 1707). On the other hand, all *bca'-yig* draw on the basic principles of Vinaya to derive specific obligations and institutions not covered in the formulations of the Vinaya texts themselves.

The complex relationship between Vinaya and *bca'-yig* might be interpreted in various ways. From the standpoint of constitutional law, the Vinaya may be interpreted as a corpus of case law, a set of specific precedents from which general principles may be derived to extend to previously unspecified situations, such as those covered in the specific regulations of the *bca'-yig*. From the standpoint of civic education, monastic instruction in the Vinaya code might be viewed as a kind of citizenship training in the way of life of the monastic community, first studied in theory and in detail according to universal requirement, and then accepted and practiced to varying degrees according to individual choice and opportunity. Whatever their rank or seniority, all monks necessarily attained some degree of both knowledge and personal acceptance of the Vinaya. However, while some monasteries also included yearly exposition of the *bca'-yig* in their program of community activities, others did not (Sopa). In the latter type of case, the *bca'-yig* was studied primarily by those concerned with the administration of monastic government, who consulted it for guidance on questions of basic policy. Everyday matters of discipline and administration were referred to an oral tradition of rules communicated to members of the community at large by designated administrative officials (Sopa).

The "root" relationship of Vinaya to *bca'-yig* finds expression in the *bca'-yig* largely through emphasis of certain basic Vinaya concepts and principles. The most fundamental and widely-cited of these are monastic ordination and

vows. Monastic ordination takes place in two stages: the "going forth" (Skt. *pravrajyā*, Tib. *rab-tu 'byung-ba*) from secular life into monastic discipline, and full ordination (Skt. *upasampadā*, Tib. *bsnyen-rdzogs*), voluntary full commitment to monastic life, usually after the age of twenty. Vows are of three kinds: the vows of individual liberation from the cycle of suffering (Skt. *pratimokṣa*, Tib. *so-so thar-pa*); vows to seek the full enlightenment of a Buddha, to help others escape the cycle (Skt. *bodhicitta*, Tib. *byang-chub-kyi sems*); and the vows of Tantric practice (Skt. *mantra*, Tib. *gsang-sngags*). The first two types are required in all monasteries, with the addition of the third in monasteries specializing in Tantric study and ritual.

The type given most emphasis in *bca'-yig* is that of the vows of individual liberation. These vows are taken in three successive stages. The vows of a lay follower (Skt. *upāsaka*, Tib. *dge-bsnyen*; the names given are the masculine forms, each of which has a corresponding category for females), five in number, are the first vows taken in the early years of monastic life. The ten vows of a novice monk (Skt. *śramaṇera*, Tib. *dge-tshul*) are normally added after several more years of monastic life. The final stage, the two hundred and fifty-three vows of a monk with full discipline (Skt. *bhikṣu*, Tib. *dge-slong*) may be taken later, usually sometime after the age of twenty.

Monks normally either progress to the second stage, the *dge-tshul* novice vows, or resign from the monastery and resume lay status. Most monks remain at the second stage, rather than going on to assume the elaborate constraints of the full discipline of the *dge-bsnyen*. At least in theory, progress in the monastic educational system does not require full vows, although there is a practical correlation (Sopa). For example, Sa-skya Paṇḍita, one of the most famous monastic scholars, was a respected composer of religious treatises and was considered "young in years but old in wisdom" (Sa-skya Paṇḍita n.d.: 7a) while still under the vows of a lay follower, and did not even take the vows of a novice monk until the age of twenty. However, adherence or non-adherence to full vows could affect eligibility for participation in meetings of the *tshogs-'du*, the assembly of monks (Sopa), or for holding monastic offices, some of which were constitutionally restricted to monks with vows of full discipline, and others reserved for those with novice vows (Phur-bu-lcog n.d. a: 563-564).

The level of vows assumed by members of the monastic community entails specific patterns of rights and obligations between holders of higher- and lower-level vows, according to rules prescribed by the Vinaya. Similar obligations between holders of the same type of vows are prescribed according to the principle of seniority (Tib. *rgan-rim*), i.e., the relative length of time each member has observed a particular class of vows. Further rights and obligations (i.e., of respect, support, service, and other responsibilities) are prescribed by the Vinaya for relationships between students and various types of teachers and superiors (Tib. *bla-ma*): preceptors (*mkhan-po*), in-

structors (*slob-dpon*), heads of residences (*gnas-kyi bla-ma*), and so on. The rules appropriate to each of these types of relationships, as well as to individual conduct, are arranged in the Vinaya into hierarchical groups based on relative importance. The *bca'-yig*, presupposing the specific content of the Vinaya rules as the basis of monastic life, apply the general concept of "a graded sequence of things to be adhered to or rejected" (*blang-dor-gyi rim-pa*) to specification of rules and institutes of monastic communal life not specified in the Vinaya itself.

One important guiding principle cited or presupposed in the *bca'-yig* pertains to the relationship between monks and lay-people, rather than strictly to conduct and interactions in the monastic community. The community of monks and nuns (Skt. *saṁgha*, Tib. *dge-'dun*, implying both monks and nuns in general and particular local communities) must be suitable as an object of refuge for laymen to accord their religious trust, and as a "field of merit" for them to "cultivate" by support and offerings. Thus, the monastic community must not only be dedicated to an authentic path of religious practice, so that the trust and support of laymen will not be misplaced; it must also give visible evidence of united pursuit of and dedication to religious goals, so that laymen will be impressed by and attracted to religion, rather than driven to attitudes of disrespect and doubt.

From this consideration arises an unusual kind of religious aesthetics which forms the basis of a wide range of monastic rules. According to the *bca'-yig* of the philosophical college of Phan-bde-rgya-mtsho-gling Monastery:

> Just as a yak living in the cold glacier country carefully tends his tail, not dragging it along behind like a fox's tail, but with its tip held high, in the same manner, this discipline should be carefully tended.
>
> (Sgo-mang mkhan-chen n.d. a: 445).

Although the direct point of this image is careful attention to guarding one's vows against harmful lapses, it nevertheless conveys something of the quality of a conception in which monastic discipline is not a burdensome imposition of oppressive restrictions on the individual, but rather an ornament of life in the religious community. This conception is expressed in the *bca'-yig* partially through a range of rules governing various aspects of the aesthetics of religious practice. For example: in assemblies, monks must sit in rows "like pearls strung on a cord," so well aligned that they appear "from the back as if encircled by a bracelet, from the front as if trimmed by a sword"; they must eat "without sounds of *cag hub* (crunch-gulp)"; they must sing together "with one voice and one melody" and play music in such a "brilliant" way that it becomes an "object of joyful admiration" (Panchen Lama VI 1926, 1928). The principle underlying such requirements is that the life of the monastic community should embody a *spyod-lam mdzes-pa*, or "beautiful path of practice," a concept cited in *bca'-yig* for at least five

hundred years (cf. Tsong-kha-pa n.d. a: 239a), and shared with Buddhist Vinaya traditions in other countries (for an example from Thai Theravāda Buddhism, cf. Vajirañāṇavarorasa 1969: 10). It provides an unusual and potentially instructive example of one way in which a soteriological concept (the religious community as an object of refuge and field of merit) can give rise to a normative concept ("beautiful" practice as a source of religious inspiration), which in turn generates a set of specific laws governing many practical aspects of daily life in the monastic community.

Structure of Bca'-yig

Like the monastic communities themselves, *bca'-yig* vary considerably in comprehensiveness of scale, general outlines of structure, and specific features of content. No *bca'-yig* would represent a "typical" example applicable to all, or even most, cases. However, to illustrate some of the aspects of monastic structure and practice which *may* be covered in a *bca'-yig*, a composite outline is given in Figure 1. The section headings and contents listed in the left-hand column are largely based on the *bca'-yig* of Gur-smon Chos-sde (Ngag-dbang-byams-pa n.d.), a small Dge-lugs-pa monastery with a particularly clearly organized *bca'-yig*. Headings and subject matter in square brackets are added from other *bca'-yig* to create a composite outline illustrating the range of additional subjects often covered in the documents.

Nearly all *bca'-yig* share the division into general and specific sections shown by the Roman numerals I and II in Figure 1.[4] The provisions found in the general section deal mainly with basic principles of the organization of monastic communities derived from Buddhism and the Vinaya code, a subject we have considered above, while the specific section contains provisions governing the particular monastic community to which the *bca'-yig* applies.

The introductory portion of the specific provisions deals with the overall history and structure of the particular monastic community and with matters pertaining to the *bca'-yig* itself. Some of this material may also be found in other sections of the *bca'-yig*, rather than grouped together in a single section. The history of the monastery and its relation to specific Buddhist traditions, together with any changes in tradition which may have necessitated composition of a new *bca'-yig*, are subjects almost certain to be covered, since the implications of the established legitimacy and content of such traditions extend beyond the *bca'-yig* itself to the body of unwritten rules and practices which are the non-documentary components of the monastic constitution.

Descriptions of monastic structure are, of course, particularly stressed in *bca'-yig* of monasteries with complex subdivisional structures; i.e., those with multiple collegiate and residential subdivisions (e.g., Dalai Lama VII 1737), as well as in the *bca'-yig* of the subdivisions themselves (Dalai Lama VII 1726a; Mkhyen-rab Bstan-pa-chos-'phel n.d. b; Panchen Lama VI 1928), where relations between the community as a whole and its subdivisions take

on constitutional significance. The "mother–child" (*ma–bu*) relationship between main monastic centers and their affiliates is another important structural matter, sometimes accorded such importance that a single *bca'–yig* is composed for a group of related monasteries (e.g., Dalai Lama VII n.d. c; n.d. d). In other cases, the parent monastery may be designated (Dalai Lama VII n.d. e), or, more frequently, cited as a model for practices to be followed at the branch monastery. The most important provision of the introduction concerns the *bca'–yig* itself; namely, that its provisions are obligatory for all members of the community, from the very highest in rank to the very lowest. An early formulation of such a provision is found in Tsong–kha–pa (n.d. a).

Most *bca'–yig* also include specific sections on membership and entrance requirements, common observances, the duties and responsibilities of monastic officials, and judicial procedures. Entrance requirements (Figure 1, Section A) generally repeat provisions found in the Vinaya literature, with the addition of what seems to be a special Tibetan emphasis on literacy and demonstrated achievement through public examinations. Education, literacy, and examinations may be covered in the *bca'–yig* either under the heading of entrance requirements or, as in Figure 1, of community practices.

Many of the provisions governing community practices in *bca'–yig* specifically concern assemblies for ritual performances, the most characteristic communal practice uniting all members of the monastic community (Figure 1, Sections B2–B3; for a more detailed discussion of this aspect of monastic life, cf. Ellingson 1979: Chapters 4 and 5). These provisions govern not only the obviously "religious" aspects of ritual, but also matters such as general behavior, aesthetics, and especially the economics of ritual activity — for ritual is the context for the regular redistribution of the community's income, and thus forms the framework for constitutional provisions governing the economic side of community life. While ritual studies are covered in most *bca'–yig*, philosophical studies are also stressed in the *bca'–yig* of monasteries with philosophical orientations or subdivisions (e.g., Dalai Lama VII 1737; Mkhyen–rab Bstan–pa–chos–'phel n.d. b). The subject of travel outside the monastery, included among community practices in Figure 1 (Section B4), is sometimes incorporated into sections on judicial procedure in other *bca'–yig*.

The qualifications and responsibilities of officials may be discussed in a separate section, as in this case (Figure 1, Section C); or, perhaps more typically, references to them may be distributed throughout the *bca'–yig* under the appropriate subject headings. Typical provisions include a stress on the "suitability" (*'os–pa*) and good conduct of the candidates and requirements for impartial and honest conduct in office, as well as emphasis on appropriate qualifications for specific positions. Selection procedures, which vary from monastery to monastery, may be specified. For example, the Sera *bca'–yig* requires compilation of a list of nominees (*'os–tho*) by consensus or agreement (*zhal–mthun*) of the general monastic population (*grwa–mangs*) — a process

which occurs in the general assemblies (*tshogs-'du*) of the various monastic subdivisions, with consolidation of candidate lists negotiated in committee at the college and monastery-wide levels of organization (Sopa) — and final selection by the executive council strictly on the basis of the candidates' qualifications (Dalai Lama VII 1737: 354). Some *bca'-yig* also allocate specific offices to holders of specific degrees of ordination and vows, certain offices being reserved for holders of higher vows, and others for holders of lower vows. For example, in the *bca'-yig* outlined in Figure 1, the official responsible for overseeing a fair distribution of income to the entire monastic community must be selected from among the holders of the lower-ranking *dge-tshul* vows (Ngag-dbang-byams-pa n.d.: 563–564).

Sections on judicial procedures generally repeat Vinaya rules which have practical bearing on daily life in the monastic community. Other rules are added to cover situations not specifically treated in the Vinaya — for example, in many *bca'-yig* dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century and later, prohibition of the use of tobacco by monks. Particular stress is given to specification of criteria and principles to be used in determining whether or not violations have occurred, their degree of seriousness, and the placement of responsibility; and strong emphasis is given to the need for public expiation and restoration of offenders to good standing in the monastic community. Nearly all *bca'-yig* conclude with sections stressing the benefits of a community united by general accord and adherence to religious principles in general, and to an explicit legal code in particular. The colophon, found in every *bca'-yig*, gives the author's name and (usually) date of composition, along with information on the sources, circumstances, and conditions of the commission to compose the *bca'-yig*.

Jurisdiction and Governing Principles

The titles and jurisdictions of officials of the monastic community vary from one monastery and *bca'-yig* to another. Generally, the chief officials include one or more leaders with overall responsibility for monastic administration and education, whom we may loosely refer to as "Lama" (*bla-ma*) in the broad sense of "superior" (the category may include *sprul-sku* 'emanations,' *mkhan-po* 'abbots', and others); an *dbu-mdzad* (or *byang-'dren*, etc.) responsible for ritual and musical leadership; a chief investigative or judicial officer (*dge-bskos*, *chos-'khrims*, etc.); and various officials responsible for the economic and physical-plant aspects of monastic life. For a comparative analytical model of divisions of titles and functions of monastic officials, see Ellingson 1979: 316 ff.

The second column of Figure 1 shows one possible pattern of distribution of official jurisdictions.[5] The first heading in this column, concerning matters of general leadership, enforcement, and agreement of community and individuals, may be taken as a general provision applicable to the entire scope of the monastic constitution. Adherence to the *bca'-yig* by all officials

and ordinary monks (see above) is also a general provision governing every aspect of monastic life, regardless of specific allocations of jurisdiction and responsibility.

The pattern of jurisdictions shown in Figure 1 is generally applicable to most monastic communities, although there are many exceptions to the specific examples shown here. More important, and more frequently encountered than the specific patterns of allocation of jurisdiction shown in this outline, is the fact that such specific allocations are made and specified in the *bca'–yig*. A glance through column 2 of Figure 1 will show that official jurisdictions change almost from line to line, with powers and responsibilities carefully and explicitly assigned to the appropriate officials, rather than being concentrated in the hands of a single official or left to arbitrary chances of distribution according to changing political developments or individual leadership. As far as our limited sample of fifty–one *bca'–yig* permits a conclusion, it seems that increasingly specific allocations of jurisdictions and powers is one of the characteristic historical tendencies in the evolution of *bca'–yig* and the constitutional structure of Tibetan monastic communities.

The governing principles listed in the third column of Figure 1 are relatively constant from one monastery and *bca'–yig* to another. Their general emphases include adherence to religious and disciplinary standards, general harmoniousness and consensus in the community, along with fair administration of legal and economic provisions and safeguards against arbitrariness and infringement of established rights, and clear and explicit statements of standards and requirements. Proceeding from the basis of the religious and educational foundations of monastic life, they establish the monastic community as a community whose political and economic structures are constitutionally mandated and protected.

Bca'–yig and Constitutionalism

The overall picture that emerges from this brief overview of *bca'–yig* is one of complex and highly explicit organization, with intricate but clearly delineated divisions of organizational structures, jurisdictions, powers, and responsibilities. Whatever else the *bca'–yig* may tell us or not tell us about monastic constitutions, they clearly show the political system of the monastic community to be grounded in strictly codified allocations of designated powers to designated institutions and offices. This in turn establishes what may be the most important conceptual link between *bca'–yig* and more widely–known types of constitutions: namely, the concept of constitutionalism.

Constitutionalism is the deliberate institutionalization of restraints against arbitrary uses and abuses of political power. Such restraints are evident in many features of the *bca'–yig*: in specified guarantees of non–interference with certain rights; in specifications of governing principles, rules, allowable exceptions and procedures; in strictures of impartiality and adherence to the *bca'–yig* placed on holders of official positions; in the division of jurisdic-

tions and powers between specific offices; and, above all, in the existence of the *bca'-yig* itself as a documented codification of these features. The relationship between *bca'-yig* and constitutionalism is highlighted in a ceremony found in some monasteries where, when a new *dge-bskos* is installed in his judicial office and role, a copy of the *bca'-yig* is placed in his hands as a symbol both of the powers he holds and of the limits of those powers, limits which may not be exceeded (Sopa). Shortly thereafter, the new officeholder has to demonstrate his understanding of the monastic constitution, and of his own responsibilities, powers, and limits of power under it, by giving a public lecture (*tshogs-gtam*) based on the *bca'-yig* to the entire monastic community — a requirement which may itself be explicitly stated in the *bca'-yig* (e.g., in Ngag-dbang-byams-pa n.d. a: 563).

The pattern of constitutional limitations of power shown by the *bca'-yig* calls into question two concepts associated by some writers with Tibetan polity in general and monastic polity in particular: the concepts of "feudalism" and "Lamaism." Feudalism is a complex concept; but, among the necessary prerequisites for identifying a polity as "feudal," we would find it difficult to exclude the concentration of powers in a single individual to whom others are subject in a relationship of personal fealty. "Lamaism" seems to be a Western transposition of the "feudalism" concept to a monastic-mystical mode, implying unquestioning fealty to an all-powerful religious personage who arbitrarily wields absolute powers over every aspect of faith, life, and livelihood. It is not our concern here to examine either the historical development or educational or ritual significance of the Indian concept of the guru (Tib. *bla-ma*, "Lama") or its contextual association with ideas of bodily emanation (*sprul-sku*) and recurring chains of emanations (*yang-srid*). Rather, we only wish to point out that the "Lama" of monastic polity is a leader with specified and restricted powers, and that the community he leads is clearly governed by law rather than by personal caprice — a constitutional polity, in other words, rather than a "feudal" or "Lamaist" polity.

The unique feature of Tibetan monastic constitutionalism would seem to be its historical and conceptual origin. Western constitutionalism arose in reaction to the consolidation of unprecedented powers in the hands of monarchs of newly ascendant nation-states. Such conditions did not occur in Tibet during the period of development of the *bca'-yig*. The conceptual roots of *bca'-yig* are apparently derived from Buddhist ideology — in particular, the Vinaya emphases on communal accord and clear codification of individual and interpersonal responsibilities and obligations; and perhaps also, in part, on Tantric Buddhist concerns over arbitrary distortions of authentic traditions, reinforced by negative Tibetan experiences during the age of decline of political and religious institutions (ninth-eleventh centuries).

The Tibetan cultural roots of monastic constitutionalism are certainly complex, deriving from the roles of monastic communities as the urban-

cultural centers of Tibetan Buddhist civilization, and from the extent and intensity of popular involvement with the monasteries, among many other factors. Historical impetus for the growth of constitutionalism must have come, on the one hand, from the intricate, shifting patterns of monastic "flow" networks (*grwa-rgyun*) which forged links of personnel and practices between communities, and necessitated that rights and status acquired in one community should not be arbitrarily lost in movement to another, and, on the other hand, from the competition between monasteries and networks, which by providing the escape valve of rival communities to which potential victims of abuse could transfer if necessary, may have exerted a control on the growth of arbitrary abuses of power in any one monastery. There appears to be a general correlation between increasing size of monastic populations (from communities of perhaps a few dozen in the tenth and eleventh centuries to concentrations of up to ten thousand in the twentieth century) and increasing complexity of constitutional limitations of power; and it could be argued that the sheer demographic and economic pressures of concentrating large populations in small areas provided an inevitable stimulus to the growth of complex patterns of organization. Even if such arguments have explanatory value, they would still not account for the fact that in this case growth and complexity led not to the widespread and apparently obvious solution of control by increasing concentration of authority to create a form of individual-centered despotism, whether "Oriental" or "Lamaistic," but rather to increasingly explicit systems for deconcentration and distribution of authority among mutually counterbalancing, functionally-defined offices.

Thus, while the existence of constitutionalism in the Tibetan monastic system is clear from examination of the *bca'-yig*, it is a complex phenomenon whose precise nature and historical causes do not admit of simple explanations. Unfortunately, most Tibetan political and historical studies seem to be dominated by questions of foreign relations, the quasi-mythical culture-hero roles of individual leaders, visceral anti-clericalism with its consequent preconceptions inhibiting serious investigation of ecclesiastical systems, and models derived from facile analogies with medieval Europe. All of these tend to distract scholarly attention from the need for understanding the monastic system, the most distinctive and characteristic of Tibetan sociopolitical institutions, on its own terms in order to develop a balanced and integral comprehension of Tibetan polity as a whole. Whether we provisionally consider the Tibetan monastic system as an ecclesiastical superimposition on a preexisting and primary secular noble-commoner socioeconomic infrastructure, or as the basis of a fundamental transformation of the Tibetan socioeconomic system into an entirely different kind of structure, the need remains for us to understand its viability and ascendancy in Tibet in terms of the overall context of Tibetan history, society, politics, and ideas, rather than in reductionist terms of individual leadership and foreign influences. And

when we undertake serious investigation of the Tibetological implications of the monastic system, using technical resources such as the *bca'-yig*, then we begin to discover how, rather than adapting foreign political models to fit the Tibetan system, Tibetan ideas and institutions can contribute new information to our discussion of such issues of wider human concern as the question of political power and its limitation and control.

Figure 1: Composite Outline of the Bca'–yig Structure

Bca'–yig Section	Jurisdiction	Principles Emphasized
Salutation		
Invocation		Adherence to Buddhist teaching and practice
[I. General provisions]		
Introduction: Buddhist discipline	Lama [*mkhan–po*, *slob-dpon*, etc.] has leadership responsibility; *dge–bskos* enforces; consensus of community and individual responsibility required for success	Discipline as the root of all religious practice and achievement
Misery, liberation, and compassion		
Śākyamuni and Buddhism		
Vinaya discipline		Vinaya as the basis of life in monastic communities [except for "Tantric householders"]; monastic community as a suitable object of refuge and field of merit; Vinaya as "the Buddha's representative"
Pratimokṣa vows		
Going–forth and *Upasampadā*		
Upāsaka, *śramaṇera*, and *bhikṣu* vows		
Bodhicitta vows		
Tantric vows		

Bca'–yig Section	Jurisdiction	Principles Emphasized
[II. Specific provisions]		Particular nature of each individual monastic community
History of monastery		Continuities and changes
[Structure of monastery]		
[Great Assembly]	Executive Council (*Bla–spyi*)	Unity of entire monastic community
[Colleges or schools]	Officers of monastic subunits	Extent of independence and interdependence of subunits
[Residential units]		
[Lama's residence]	*Bla–brang* staff	
The *bca'–yig*	Outside arbitrator, advised by delegation from monastery	Specific fundamental code
[Precedents]		Documents, oral tradition, established practice
[Circumstances of composition]		Founding of new monastery, structural reorganization, changes in practice, clarification of oral tradition, loss of old *bca'–yig*
[Status of *bca'–yig*]		Adherence required of all members, regardless of high or low rank
[Intermonastic relations]		
[Mother–Child relations]	Main Monastery	Adherence to common code
[Flow relationships]	Council and *Dge–bskos*	Non–interference with right of individuals to utilize flow; procedures involved

Bca'–yig Section	Jurisdiction	Principles Emphasized
A. Monastic community membership	Abbot, assisted by designated officers	Accordance with Vinaya standards
New members		Screening potential disabilities
Transfers		Check previous record
[Special requirements]		Advanced age, training, etc.
B. Community practices	As in Section I	Duties, rights, and exceptions
1. Primary education	Designated according to subject	Basis of religious practice
Individual teachers		Mutual responsibility
Class teachers		Achievement goals
Reading and writing		Basis of education
Study sequence		Ritual and basic teachings
Examination requirements	Council and/or all monks	Public demonstration of achievement of basic goals
2. Monastic assemblies	*Dbu–mdzad* and *Dge–bskos*	Unity, non–arbitrariness, disciplined and "beautiful"
Time and signals	*Dge–bskos*	
General behavior	*Dge–bskos*	
Ritual performance and chant	*Dbu–mdzad*	
Economics: redistribution of monastic income	Designated staff	Fair shares for all participants (tea, food, clothing etc.)
General procedure	Serving and kitchen staff	Standardized procedures
Exceptions	*Dge–bskos*	Protection of right to share of sick and valid absentees

Bca'–yig Section	Jurisdiction	Principles Emphasized
Scale of increased shares	Staff	Specification and limitation of extra compensation for officials and workers
3. Study and ritual	Designated according to subject area	High standard of quality
Philosophical studies	*Mkhan–po*	
Course sequence	Designated teachers	Structured program
[Academic degrees]		Demonstrated achievement
Tantric/ritual studies	Lama and *Dbu–mdzad*	
Initiations and instruction	Lama [*Slob–dpon*, etc.]	Validity of practice
Ritual performance	*Dbu–mdzad*	Non–arbitrary performance
Ritual calendar		Standardized sequence appropriate to monastery's tradition
4. Travel outside monastery		Accord with monastic standards
Permission to leave	*Dge–bskos*	Specification of criteria for absence
Conduct away from monastery	Individual responsibility subject to judicial review	Maintenance of Vinaya standards and "beautiful" patterns of behavior
C. Officials and workers		
General provisions		
[Acceptability to monks]	Council	Specific consensus of community on acceptable nominees
Character		Good conduct record
Standard of selection		Strictly according to qualifications for position

Bca'–yig Section	Jurisdiction	Principles Emphasized
[Official confirmation of selection]	Varies	
Conduct in office	Council	Impartiality and honesty
Specific offices		
Abbot		Leadership; responsibility for religious/educational standards and community well–being
Dbu–mdzad		Ritual leadership; ritual and musical accuracy/quality
Dge–bskos		Investigative and judicial responsibility, with aid of enforcement staff
[Economic and custodial]		Administration of physical plant and community resources
[Other positions]		Specific needs of monastery
D. Judicial procedures		Investigation of violations and determination of individual responsibility; atonement to entire community
Minor and intermediate offenses	*Dge–bskos*	Restore accord between individual offender and community by public confession and asking tolerance
Major offenses	*Dge–bskos* and Lama or Council	Expulsion from community as last–resort remedy

Bca'–yig Section	Jurisdiction	Principles Emphasized
Conclusion		Benefits of adherence to monastic law: happiness of community and aid to others
Colophon		
Authority for *bca'–yig*		Representative of community and specified conditions
Author of *bca'–yig*		
Date and place of composition		

APPENDIX

The *bca'-yig* cited in the text are listed here only by names of monasteries. Their full titles may be found in the sources of publication listed below.

Mkhyen-rab Bstan-pa-chos-'phel, Sgo-mang mkhan-chen LIX

n.d. a *Bsgrigs-yig* of the Mgon-khang of Sgo-mang College of Drepung Monastery. Collected Works, Vol. 2: 476–494. New Delhi: D. Gyaltsan and K. Legshay, 1972.

n.d. b *Bca'-yig* of Sgra-dbyangs Legs-bshad-gling Philosophical College of Phan-bde Rgya-mtsho-gling Monastery. Collected Works, Vol. 2: 439–475. New Delhi: D. Gyaltsan and K. Legshay, 1972.

Ngag-dbang-byams-pa, Phur-bu-lcog

n.d. *Bca'-yig* of Gur-smon Chos-sde Monastery. Collected Works, Vol. 4, 550–566. New Delhi: N. Sopa, 1974.

Dalai Lama VII Blo-bzang-bskal-bzang-rgya-mtsho

1726a *Bca'-yig* of the Sngags-pa College of Sku-'bum Monastery. Collected Works, Vol. 3: 270–287. Gangtok: D. Sangye, 1976.

1726b *Bca'-yig* of Rnam-rgyal Grwa-tshang Monastery. Collected Works, Vol. 3: 287–298. Gangtok: D. Sangye, 1976.

1737 *Bca'-yig* of Sera [Se-rwa] Monastery. Collected Works, Vol. 3: 336–361. Gangtok: D. Sangye, 1976.

n.d. a *Bca'-yig* of Yongs-la Sbyin-gtong Gtsug-lag-khang Monastery. Collected Works, Vol. 3: 327–332. Gangtok: D. Sangye, 1976.

n.d. b *Bca'-yig* of De-mo Chos-sde Blo-gsal-gling Monastery. Collected Works, Vol. 3: 446–465. Gangtok: D. Sangye, 1976.

n.d. c *Bca'-yig* of Nag-shod Rtar-smos Chos-'khor-gling, Rab-brtan Phun-tshogs-gling, and Rag-khyim Dar-rgyas-gling Monasteries. Collected Works, Vol. 3: 361–367. Gangtok: D. Sangye, 1976.

n.d. d *Bca'-yig* of Lab Chos-sde, 'Gag-la Dga'-ldan Phun-tshogs-gling, and 'Bram-bu Ltag-dgon Monasteries. Collected Works, Vol. 3: 391–405. Gangtok: D. Sangye, 1976.

n.d. e *Bca'-yig* of Mdo-smad Dga'-ldan Chos-gling Monastery. Collected Works, Vol. 3: 380–391. Gangtok: D. Sangye, 1976.

Padma-phrin-las, Rdo-rje-brag rig-'dzin II

1707 *Bca'-yig* of Rdo-rje-brag Monastery (*E waṁ lcog sgar gyi bca' yig Bslab btus sdom gsum lam gyi snying po gsal byed Baiḍu rya dag pa'i me long*). Delhi: K. G. Shashin, 1979.

Panchen Lama VI Blo–bzang–thub–bstan–chos–kyi–nyi–ma
1926 *Bca'–yig* of Khal–kha Dga'–ldan Bshad–sgrub 'Phel–rgyas–gling Monastery. Collected Works, Vol. 2: 231–251. New Delhi: Lha–mkhar Yongs–'dzin, 1973.
1928 *Bca'–yig* of the Dus–'khor Tantric College of Bkra–shis–lhun–po Monastery. Collected Works, Vol. 2: 192–199. New Delhi: Lha–mkhar Yongs–'dzin, 1973.
Bu–ston Rin–chen–grub–pa
n.d. a *Dran pa bskul ba'i yi ge* (*'Chi ba'i kha chems*) to the abbot of Zhwa–lu Monastery. Collected Works, Vol. 26: 313–319. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971.
n.d. b *Dran pa bskul ba'i yi ge* to the monks of Zhwa–lu Monastery. Collected Works, Vol. 26: 319–321. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971.
Tsong–kha–pa Blo–bzang–grags–pa
n.d. a *Bca'–yig* of Byams–pa–gling Monastery (*Dge' dun Khrims bca' Chen mo*). Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Vol. 153: 237b–241b. Tokyo: TTRI, 1961.
n.d. b *Bca'–yig* amendments for Byams–pa–gling Monastery (*Dge' dun Khrims bca' Chung ba*). Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Vol. 153: 241b–243b. Tokyo: TTRI, 1961.
Zhang G.yu–brag–pa Brtson–'grus–grag–pa
n.d. *Shog dril chen mo.* Writings (*Bka' thor bu*): 139–182. Palampur: Tibetan Craft Community, 1972.
Sangs–rgyas–rgya–mtsho, Sde–srid
1681 *Blang dor gsal bar ston pa'i drang thig Dwangs shel me long.* Dolanji, H. P.: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1979.
Slob–dpon Padma
1979 *Bod kyi khrims yig chen mo* (*Bod kyi Khrims yig Chen mo Zhal lce bcu drug gi 'grel pa*). Thimphu: Government of Bhutan/Kunsang Topgyel and Mani Dorji.

NOTES

1 This is a revised version of a paper originally presented at the Wisconsin Conference on South Asia, Madison, November 1980. Thanks are due to many monks and former monks who furnished information, but especially to Geshe Lhundrup Sopa for his help in understanding technical terms and their implications.

2 In popular usage, "constitution" applies not only to written documents, but also to independent states. Since Tibetan monasteries were traditionally included within secular state or other polities (whose nature and governance are themselves complex questions), one might question the applicability of the term "constitution," or prefer an alternative term for the *bca'–yig*, such as "charter," which connotes both written form and subordination to a larger encompassing polity. However, since the discussion in this study covers both written and unwritten fundamental law, "constitution" is a more accurate usage. The question of political subordination is rather complex. Groups such as the Ashanti and the Cheyenne were, of course, subject to larger state polities at the times when they were studied by Rattray and Hoebel, respectively; but they may be considered as having been politically independent, at least in theory and internally, for most of their pre–contact history. However, even colloquial usage permits "constitution" in those cases where the subordinate units of a polity retain partial autonomy through powers reserved to them; e.g., the state "constitutions" of the United States of America. Buddhist Vinaya codes and unwritten traditions, in and outside Tibet, not only require submission to state authority in matters such as civil crimes, but also assume de facto autonomy in matters of internal governance, community rights and responsibilities, and judicial procedures on matters governed by monastic codes and traditions. Historically, the establishment of Buddhist monastic communities has typically entailed some form of at least tacit articulation of internal autonomy vis–á–vis the state, while its breach by the state has been taken by the monastic community as unjustified interference or persecution. In Tibet, of course, the increasing growth of monastic power that eventually resulted in the formation of a bilateral monastic–secular system of state governance provides a particularly strong example of monastic autonomy; but it is not the primary reason, or even a necessary condition, for the use of the term "constitution" in this discussion.

3 Since the original version of this paper was presented in 1980, I have learned of new *bca'–yig* research begun by Dieter Schuh. Unfortunately, I have not yet had the opportunity of consulting any of his work on the subject.

4 Sectional divisions may or may not be designated by explicit headings in the *bca'–yig* itself. In the case of the *bca'–yig* used as the principal source for Figure 1, sections A–D and subsections 1–4 of section B are so designated, while sections I and II are not.

5 The example of distribution of official jurisdictions shown in Figure 1 has been modified from that found in the Gur–smon *bca'–yig*, which presents an atypical pattern of distribution.

RELIGIOUS CONFLICT IN THE TRADITIONAL TIBETAN STATE[1]

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Introduction

Ruled by an incarnation, the Dalai Lama, and supporting a monastic segment comprising between ten and twenty percent of the eligible males, Tibet was a state in which religious interests and priorities predominated. "Religion" (and the religious segment), however, was not the homogeneous entity it is typically implied to be, even within the Gelugpa Sect, and the great Gelugpa monasteries were often at odds with the Dalai Lama's government. In this paper I shall examine aspects of this discord and then present several illustrations of such conflict from twentieth century Tibetan history.

Monasticism is fundamental to both Mahāyāna and Theravāda Buddhism and is found wherever Buddhism exists. However, the Tibetan form of monasticism differed from other forms in terms of a variety of fundamental factors such as: 1) its mass philosophy and accompanying size; 2) its theory of recruitment; and 3) its internal organization and normative structure.

The Tibetan monastic system supported a staggering number of monks. Surveys show that there were 97,528 monks in Central Tibet and Khams in 1694, and 319,270 monks in 1733 (Dung-dkar 1981: 109). Assuming that the population of these areas was about 2.5 million in 1733, monks thus constituted about thirteen percent of the total population and about twenty-six percent of the males. The magnitude of this can be appreciated by comparing it to Thailand, another prominent Buddhist society, where monks comprised only one to two percent of the total number of males (Tambiah 1976: 266–267). A critical factor underlying this size was the Tibetan belief that the state should foster the spiritual (religious) development of the country by making monkhood available to the largest number of persons. The scope of monasticism (and the cycle of religious rituals and ceremonies the monks performed) was seen in turn as the measure of the Tibetan state's success. Monasticism in Tibet, therefore, was not the otherworldly domain of a minute elite; rather it was a mass phenomenon.

The Tibetan monastic system was also striking in that, first, the overwhelming majority of monks were placed in monasteries by their parents when they were between the ages of seven and ten, without particular regard to their predispositions or wishes; and second, becoming a monk was not a temporary undertaking but rather a lifelong commitment.

There were many reasons why parents made their son a monk. For some, it was their deep religious belief that being a monk was a great privilege and honor. For others, it was a culturally valued way to reduce the number of mouths to feed, while also ensuring that their son would never have to experience the hardships of village life. Again, sometimes parents made a son a monk to fulfill a solemn promise made to a deity when the son was very ill. Yet, in other cases, recruitment was simply the result of a corvée tax obligation to a monastery which was their lord.

Parents sometimes broached the subject with their sons, but usually they simply told the child of their decision. The monastery officially asked the young boys whether they wanted to be monks. But this was really pro forma, and if, for example, a newly made child monk ran away from the monastery, this would not result in his dismissal on the grounds that he did not want to be a monk. A number of monks recalled that they had fled to their homes after a few months' initial stay in the monastery only to receive a beating from their fathers who immediately took them back. The monks relating these incidents did not see this as abusive. Rather, they laughed at how stupid they were at the time to want to give up the opportunity of being a monk. Tibetans, lay and monk alike, generally feel that young boys cannot comprehend the wonder and importance of being a monk, and that it is up to their elders to see to it that they have the right opportunities. Thus, the decision to make a child a monk was predominantly the prerogative of the parental generation rather than derived from either the wishes of the child or some perception of a deep–seated predilection in the child for the monk's life.

Once accepted, it was hoped that the novice would remain a monk for his entire life, adhering, minimally, to a vow of celibacy. However, monks clearly had the right to leave the monastic community whenever they wanted. Given the almost random selection of novice monks, powerful mechanisms were needed to retain young monks who had to face a life of celibacy. The monastic system, in fact, possessed effective mechanisms for facilitating this, including economic security, comradeship, and a very liberal (or lax) view of monastic activities and discipline. For example, the Tibetan monastic system did not attempt to weed out novices who seemed unsuited for a rigorous life of prayer, study and meditation, and monks were expelled only for the most serious crimes of murder and heterosexual intercourse. Similarly, there were no exams which novices or monks had to pass in order to remain in the monastery (although there were exams for higher statuses within the monks' ranks). Monks who had no interest in studying or meditating were as welcome as the virtuoso scholar monks.

On the other hand, monks leaving the monastery faced significant economic problems. Because they lost whatever rights they might otherwise have had in their family farm (patrimony) when they entered the monastery,

departing monks had to face the task of finding a source of income. Complicating this was the fact that they reverted to their original serf status when they departed, and were thus liable for service to their lord. These and other factors made it both easy and advantageous for monks to remain in the monastery.

The elevated status of monks and monasteries was manifest also in their treatment as semi–autonomous units within the Tibetan state with the exclusive right to judge and discipline their own monks in all cases except murder and treason.

This relative autonomy, however, did not mean that the monastic system was disinterested in the political affairs of the country. It was actually very concerned. The reason for this derives from the fundamental ideology of the Tibetan state and its economic and political ramifications. Tibetans considered their country unique by virtue of its support and patronage of religion as its primary goal. This was nicely phrased in a letter the Tibetan Foreign Bureau sent Chiang Kai–shek in 1946:

> There are many great nations on this earth who have achieved unprecedented wealth and might, but there is only one nation which is dedicated to the well–being of humanity in the world and that is the religious land of Tibet which cherishes a joint spiritual and temporal system....[2]

However, this "joint spiritual and temporal system" ideology did not preclude serious conflict between the monasteries and the government with regards to specific actions and options, for there was no unanimity on who was best able to determine what was in the best interests of religion and thus Tibet. The monks believed that the political and economic system existed to further their ends, and that they, not the government, were the best judge of what was in the short and long term interests of religion. They could not accept that decisions detrimental to their monasteries could benefit Tibet's unique religious system, and they believed it was the monasteries' religious duty and right to intervene whenever they felt the government was acting against the interests of religion, which they generally saw as their own college or monastery. This, of course, brought them into the mainstream of political affairs and into potential conflict with the Dalai Lama and the government who also felt they were acting in the best interest of Tibet and religion. Although the great monasteries did not involve themselves in the day–to–day operation of government administration, they played an important role in larger issues. For example, in the 1920s, a bitter dispute emerged over the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's plan to enlarge the army. The Dalai Lama saw this as necessary to preserve Tibet's integrity vis–á–vis China, while the monks saw it as a threat to their superiority with regard to both coercive force and the institutionalization of alien British values.

One major theme of modern Tibetan history, then, was the conflict between the desire of the government to control the monastic segment, particularly the three great Gelugpa monasteries in and around Lhasa: Sera, Drepung and Ganden.

The Three Monastic Seats

Sera, Drepung and Ganden were collectively known as the "Three Seats" (*gdan–sa gsum*) of the Gelugpa Sect, because they acted as the main monasteries for hundreds of smaller branch monasteries. These three monasteries were enormous, resembling bustling towns as much as sanctuaries for the pursuit of other–worldly studies. Their monks were basically divided into two groups: those who were pursuing higher studies, the "readers," and those who were not. The former became the scholars while the latter typically could only read and chant their prayer books.[3] In the Mey College of Sera Monastery, for example, only about 800 of the 2800 (twenty–nine percent) were "readers."[4] Of these 800, a large proportion never went beyond the lower levels of learning. The non–readers worked for the monastery (or themselves), or simply lived off the daily distributions and teas provided by the monastery during the collective prayer sessions. However, although so many of the monks were engaged in non–scholarly and non–meditative pursuits, all were (heterosexually) celibate.

Drepung, the largest of the three monasteries, officially held 7700 monks, but actually contained about 10,000 in 1951. Sera officially held 5500 and Ganden 3300, but they actually housed about 7000 and 5000 monks respectively. By contrast, the army normally present in Lhasa numbered only 1000–1500 troops. Moreover, as many as ten to fifteen percent of the monks housed in the Three Seats were dobdos (*ldab–ldob*) or "fighting monks." These monks had a distinctive appearance (e.g., hair style and the manner of tying their robes), and they belonged to clubs which held regular athletic competitions. They also typically engaged in ritualized armed combat according to a code of chivalry, and often acted as bodyguards for the monastery.[5] The presence of 20,000 monks in and around Lhasa, thousands of whom were "this–worldly," aggressive, fighting monks traditionally afforded the Three Seats tremendous coercive leverage vis–á–vis the government, whose army they dwarfed before 1920.

The Three Seats somewhat resembled the classic British universities such as Oxford in that the overall entity, the monastery, was in reality a combination of semi–autonomous sub–units, known in Tibetan as tratsang (*grwa–tshang*). By analogy with British universities, these are commonly called "colleges" in English. Monks belonged to a monastery only through their membership in a college, and although there was a standing committee that functioned with regard to monastery–wide issues, there was no abbot for the whole monastery, only for individual colleges.

Each tratsang had its own administration and resources, and in turn was comprised of important residential sub–units known as khamtsen (*khams-tshan*) which contained the actual domiciles (apartments or cells) of their monks. Like the college, they had their own administration and, to a degree, their own resources.

A potential monk could enter any of the Three Seats but within the monastery had to enroll in a specific khamtsen depending on the region he was from. Membership in a khamtsen, therefore, was automatic and mutually exclusive. For example, a monk from Kham (Eastern Tibet), or more likely, from one of a number of regions in Kham, had to enter one and only one khamtsen.[6] Thus, khamtsen exhibited considerable internal linguistic and cultural homogeneity. Since different khamtsen were affiliated with different colleges, the college level also often had a regional flavor. Colleges and their khamtsen units occupied a specific spatial area within the monastery, and were the center of ritual, educational, social and political activities for their members.

Each of these units — the monastery, the various colleges and the khamtsen — were corporate entities. They had an identity and a name which continued across generations, owned property and wealth in the name of the entity, and had internal organization. While the monks came and went, the entity and its property continued. Moreover, it is essential to note that a monk's loyalties were primarily rooted at the khamtsen and college levels, and there was often little feeling of brotherhood between monks of different colleges despite their being from the same monastery.

Thus, there were competing units within the Three Seats. The monastic colleges were often at odds with each other, and even the incarnate lamas were allied with specific monastic colleges and khamtsen. An essential flaw in the Tibetan politico–religious system was, therefore, that while religious priority was universally accepted, defining what benefited religion or religious entities was often contested.

Religion, though in one sense a homogeneous force in Tibetan politics, was also a fragmenting and conflicting force. Competition between the various religious entities to increase their influence and prestige and the lack of consensus regarding which policies were in the interests of religion plagued modern Tibetan history during the twentieth century. An interesting example of such intra–religious conflict took place in 1921 between the Tibetan government and the Loseling College of Drepung Monastery.

The Tshaja Incident

The relations between the Dalai Lama and the Loseling College of Drepung Monastery had been strained for years. The Tengyeling (Demo) Conspiracy and, more importantly, the support Loseling gave to the Chinese during 1911–1912 when the Dalai Lama's volunteer army was trying to drive the Chinese out of Lhasa, had infuriated the Dalai Lama. Led by Losel-

ing College's three chantso (*phyag-mdzod*; business managers), the Tshaja, Phuja and Gongja,[7] Drepung Monastery had adhered to a pro-Chinese and anti-Dalai Lama policy.[8] When the Dalai Lama's officials ordered them to send monks to help fight against the Chinese, they refused, saying that they were monks, not soldiers. They agreed to fight only if the Chinese tried to force their way into Drepung itself, not otherwise. Many of the Loseling officials such as the Tshaja were from Chinese-administered parts of Kham and tended to have pro-Chinese leanings. This orientation was well known to the Manchu Amban who fled to Drepung when he feared for his life and was sheltered by the monastic officials in a mountaintop retreat until the fighting was over (Surkhang, interview).

Loseling's behavior warranted punishment, but during the period 1913–1919, the Dalai Lama was too preoccupied with the Simla talks and the warfare in Kham to confront Loseling and teach it the lesson he felt it needed. But by late 1920, there were no such restraints, and when a dispute arose in Loseling College, he took the opportunity to attack its leaders.

The incident began in late 1920, when the Loseling chantso led by the Tshaja told a former monastic official named Adala that his khamtsen (Tsha Khamtsen) wanted him to give back an estate he was using.[9] Adala had been holding this estate on "permanent lease" (*kha-'dzin*), paying Loseling a lease-fee every year, and managing the estate as if it were his own. Feeling he had permanent rights to this estate so long as he paid the annual fee, he refused to return it. When the Loseling managers decided to take it by force, Adala complained to an acquaintance, the powerful Dronyerchenmo. He immediately saw this as an opportunity to get back at the Loseling managers, and he told Adala to petition the government.[10]

With this petition in hand, the Dronyerchenmo summoned the three Loseling managers to a meeting and arrested them. The very next day they were sentenced and punished. Although judicial orders normally specified the nature of the crime or misdeed, in this case the order simply said that, "your faults are known to you so there is no need to list them." The Tshaja and Phuja were whipped, their private property confiscated and finally they were exiled (Surkhang, interview; Shan-kha-ba n.d.).

When the monks in Drepung found about about these acts, Loseling held a meeting to discuss what to do. Led by two monks named Anjanali and Ngogar, the monks decided to go en masse to the Norbulingka Palace to present their case to the Dalai Lama, i.e., to demand the release of the two managers.

The monks of nearby Nechung Monastery tried to persuade the Loseling monks not to go to Lhasa when they saw them pouring out of Drepung, but several thousand Loseling monks went on to Norbulingka, forcing their monastery officials to accompany them. The guards at the Norbulingka Palace gate also could not stop them and they pushed their way into the

palace grounds right to the "Yellow Wall" which surrounds the living area of the Dalai Lama. There the senior monastic officials prostrated and shouted that they wanted to see the Dalai Lama, who was in retreat at the time. They yelled that their managers had done no wrong and so should be released and their property returned. The monks also taunted the troops on guard by the Yellow Wall, daring them to shoot. When they did not, the mob of monks forcibly took away the troops' arms and broke them. While the senior monks shouted and prostrated, the younger monks urinated and defecated all over the Dalai Lama's gardens, pulled up and trampled the flowers, broke statues and sang especially loudly in order to disturb the Dalai Lama.[11]

The Lonchen Sholkhang came out to try to calm them. He made the traditional thumbs–up pleading gesture and said, "Please don't do this. Whatever you have to say, tell me." But the monks treated him rudely and with disdain, saying, "Old man, you don't know anything. We want to see the Dalai Lama" (Urgyenla, interview; Surkhang, interview; Bell 1946).

Tsarong, the army's commander–in–chief, was immediately summoned to Norbulingka Palace, but many advisors feared that calling out the military and opening fire on the monks could push the other colleges and monasteries to support Loseling and possibly precipitate an all–out civil war. The government's military position in Lhasa at this time consisted of only about 700 troops, not an adequate force to control a joint reaction by the Three Seats, so it was ultimately decided that the most prudent course was that no action be taken to eject the monks forcibly. The Dalai Lama pretended he knew nothing of what had happened, and by the afternoon the monks tired of the protest and left Norbulingka. In the meantime, the Dalai Lama and Tsarong issued orders to recall several thousand troops and militia to Lhasa in preparation for a possible confrontation with Loseling. Live ammunition was also issued to the troops in Lhasa at this time.[12]

That night soldiers were stationed in front of Drepung where they set up camps, and the Dalai Lama, through Tsarong, ordered Loseling to turn over the ringleaders of the protest. The monks, as expected, refused. Loseling College appealed to the monks of Sera and Ganden, as well as to the monks of Drepung's other major college (Gomang) to support them, and then they posted pickets above their monastery.[13] Various lamas, such as Kundeling and Ditru, tried to mediate the confrontation, but the monks would not agree to turn over their ringleaders. Sera, however, quickly refused to join Loseling; later Ganden also refused, as did Drepung's own Gomang College. Loseling was on its own. But since it contained 4000–5000 monks, it was still a formidable opponent. The monks threatened to attack Norbulingka and Lhasa, and said that they would seize the Dronyerchenmo, whom they saw as their main enemy in this fight (Bell 1946: 327).

By the second week in August, the Tibetan government had massed several thousand troops in Lhasa and felt confident that they could handle the monks. Loseling College was to be taught a lesson, though without bloodshed if possible. With the reinforced government troops deployed in a semicircle in front of the monastery (with strict orders from the Dalai Lama not to fire upon it), new demands were made to the monks to turn over the leaders of the demonstration (Bell 1946: *loc. cit.*). Loseling now found itself in an untenable situation. It was without support from other monasteries; it had been unable to get the Eastern Tibetan (Khamba) community in Lhasa to lend military support; and it was blocked by a large army force led by Tsarong, an official who was likely to have no qualms in taking on the monks militarily. Loseling, therefore, backed down. By mid–September, it had surrendered eleven ringleaders of the protest,[14] and others who had run away, such as Anjanali, were captured in caves on the mountains behind Drepung after an all–out search, during which the government ordered all district officials to seize and hold any Loseling monks who passed their way (Urgyenla, interview). The government even interrupted a teaching of Taktra Rinpoche in his hermitage north of Lhasa to see if Anjanali might be there (Khri–byang 1978: 94–95).

All told, about sixty monks were arrested, paraded around the city, lightly flogged, shackled and had cangues placed on their necks. They were then put into the custody of various aristocratic families. The Dalai Lama dismissed all the Drepung abbots, and passed a rule giving himself the right, for the first time, to appoint the managers of Drepung's khamtsen. He also imposed a new rule whereby these managers were chosen only from monks who hailed from nearby, i.e., Central Tibetan, places. This was done to decrease the power of the Khamba monks whom the Dalai Lama saw as more pro–Chinese and less amenable to control by the central government (Urgyenla, interview).

For the first time in modern Tibetan history, the government's army had confronted the monks directly and forced them to concede, although not a single shot was fired. The Loseling incident of 1921 served notice that the monks of the Three Seats could no longer intimidate the Dalai Lama with impunity. The Dalai Lama later told Bell that, "it was necessary for me to make a show of force or else the large monasteries would continually give me trouble"; but he went on to say that he intended to show them leniency.[15] And in a sense he did. While the ringleaders were severely punished, the monastery and the monks were not. No estates were confiscated, as had been the case with Tengyeling.[16]

The Flight of the Panchen Lama

The need to build a strong military and maintain a large army equipped with modern British rifles on the Kham border had dramatically increased the expenses of the Tibetan Government and resulted in the imposition of a

special tax on the great monasteries, including Tashilhunpo, the seat of the Panchen Lama. Outside of the central government, the Panchen Lama was the largest estate–holder, possessing not only numerous manorial estates, but also ten whole districts.

There was considerable ill feeling between the officials of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama due to the Panchen Lama's behavior following the Dalai Lama's flights to exile in 1904 and 1910. When the question of financial support for the large contingent of troops on active duty arose, some remembered that during a previous war with Nepal in 1791 (when the Gurkha troops attacked Tashilhunpo), the Panchen Lama had paid one–quarter of all the military costs. The Dalai Lama used this as a precedent, and, after returning to Tibet in 1912, he informed the Panchen Lama that he had to pay one–fourth of the total military costs of the 1912–1913 Chinese war, as well as one–fourth of the costs of the Tibeto–British wars of 1888 and 1904. This amounted to 27,000 ke (*khal*) of grain. Tashilhunpo vigorously disagreed with this interpretation and did not pay the entire amount (Don–khang 1984: 2).

The relations between the Dalai and Panchen Lamas deteriorated further in 1917, when the Dalai Lama instituted a new rule called the Fire–Snake–Year Order (*me–sbrul bka'–rtsa*) which made the serfs of Tashilhunpo in Gyantse District pay one–seventh of the horse and carrying–animal corvée tax on levies of over one hundred horses and three hundred carrying animals. Since Tashilhunpo had written statements from past Dalai Lamas exempting its serfs from providing such corvée services for anyone but Tashilhunpo, the Panchen Lama viewed this as an illegal abrogation of his prerogatives. Similarly, in 1923, the Water–Pig–Year Order (*chu–phag bka'–rtsa*) extended this to all Tashilhunpo serfs in Tsang (Don–khang 1984: 35). In 1922, the new government "Revenue Investigation Office" had also levied an additional annual tax of about 30,000 ke of grain and 10,000 silver coins on Tashilhunpo (*ibid.*: 57).

The Panchen Lama and his officials attacked the validity of the new taxes, arguing that the precedent on which they were based was invalid. They argued that they had only paid one–fourth of the Tibetan government's military expenses in 1791 because their own city and monastery were under attack. They also argued that they could not afford to make such payments and still fulfill their religious obligations to their monks, and they presented documents which granted them tax exemptions. Meanwhile, each year they protested the decision, the unpaid taxes piled up. Lungshar, a Tsipon, played a major role in this controversy, insisting that the Panchen Lama could pay the new tax. His examination of the Panchen Lama's government records documented that they could easily pay the new levy and do the corvée taxes. He convinced the Dalai Lama that the real motive behind the Panchen Lama's refusal was his ambivalence over the supreme authority

of the Dalai Lama. Thus, increasing revenue to support the army produced a major dispute between the Panchen Lama and the central government.

Additional details of this dispute come from the Panchen Lama's approach to the British in India (through MacDonald, the Gyantse Trade Agent) asking for their help. MacDonald reported in a letter to his superiors in the Indian Government:

> I have the honour to report that His Serenity the Tashi [Panchen] Lama sent a messenger to me yesterday with a private letter (which he requested me to return to him) stating as follows:
>
> ...That the Lhasa Government has demanded that the Tashi Lhunpo Government should contribute one fourth of the total expenditure for the upkeep of the Tibetan Army, which consists of the following:
>
> (a) Rs. 650,000/– approximately,
>
> (b) 10,000 maunds of grain valued at Rs. 80,000/–,
>
> (c) 2,000 boxes of Chinese brick–tea, valued at Rs. 85,000/–.
>
> (d) In addition to the above, they have asked for other liberal concessions (not mentioned in the above letter).
>
> ...In default of complying with the above demands, I have been informed that the officials of the Tashi Lhunpo Government who are undergoing imprisonment at the Potala Palace will not be released and others will also be imprisoned.
>
> ...His Serenity the Tashi Lama states that he is unable to meet the demands made upon him and he proposes to submit a representation to His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the subject. If his request is granted, things will then of course be all right; but if not, His Serenity wishes to know whether the Government of India will mediate between himself and His Holiness the Dalai Lama as he states that his only hope is the assistance of the Government of India.[17]

The Panchen Lama, after several unsuccessful protests by his officials and one abortive attempt to escape when he went to the hot springs of Lhatse District (Phun–rab 1984: 130), secretly fled to Mongolia and China on December 26, 1923, leaving the following set of instructions for his followers in Tashilhunpo:

> Be it known to all the Abbots and Assistants of the four colleges and also to the Acting Prime Minister and the Monk and Lay officials of the Tashi Lhunpo Government:–
>
> With regard to the troubles of the Tashi–Lhunpo Government and their subjects, I have submitted representations to His Holiness the Dalai Lama on several occasions, but my requests have not been granted. At the same time His Holiness has always

shown me kindness. The investigating officers listened to the advice of evil–minded persons and made it very difficult for His Holiness to grant my requests. In consequence, orders were issued to all Jongpoens of the Tsang Province that they must supply free transport, etc., to the officials of the Lhasa Government, against the prevailing custom. Moreover, I have been asked to make contributions for the upkeep of the Tibetan Army, but the nobles and subjects were unable to take the responsibility of meeting these demands. For these reasons, the subjects of the Tashi–Lhunpo Government were disappointed and became dissatisfied. You are all aware of these facts and these things have made it quite impossible for us to live in peace. I should have made further representation, but it would have created a difficult position for His Holiness. I am therefore leaving Tashi–Lhunpo for a short period to make it easier for His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I am going to see whether I can secure anyone to mediate between us, with the assistance of the dispensors of gifts in Kham and Mongolia whither I have despatched messengers. It is quite impossible for me to make the annual contributions to meet the Military expenses and I am compelled to proceed to an unknown destination to try to raise funds from the Buddhists who may be inclined to help me voluntarily. I may state here once and for all that I have no desire to do anything against the wishes of His Holiness the Dalai Lama or that will be injurious to our prestige. The letter which I have addressed to His Holiness should be at once forwarded, so as to make matters clear to him. After due consideration I have appointed the Acting Prime Minister [of Tashilhunpo] and the Abbots of the four Colleges [of Tashilhunpo] to carry on the administration during my absence. First of all, you should see that the customary ceremonies are performed in the Tashi–Lhunpo and other monasteries as usual. You should also see that the Lamas of the different monasteries receive their rations; and that the monks study all the religious books and preach the religion, and that they do not neglect the subject of disputation; and above all, you should see that all the monastic rules are duly observed. Finally, you should discharge your duties faithfully and treat the poor subjects and monks with all consideration and help them in every way possible. You should keep careful accounts of all receipts and expenditure from land revenue, etc., and apply the balance for the observance of religious ceremonies. You should carry on your duties appertaining to the spiritual and temporal powers after due consultation; but if you cannot decide any big question, you should refer the mat-

> ter to me for orders. You should discharge the duties of your responsible position without fail and leave nothing undone. I hereby command all the monks and laymen, who are subjects of the Tashi–Lhunpo Government, to obey the orders of the Acting Prime Minister and Council and discharge their duties faithfully. Let all noblemen and peasants bear these instructions in mind and act accordingly. I will issue necessary orders in the future according to circumstances. Let all the animate beings bear this in mind. I have issued these orders on the auspicious date — the 18th day of the 11th month of the Water–Pig Year (26th December, 1923).[18]

The Tibetan government sent troops to seize the Panchen Lama, but they were too late and he escaped together with a large entourage. The Dalai Lama responded by appointing his own officials to take over the administration of Tashilhunpo. The Panchen Lama, despite subsequent attempts at rapprochement, lived out the rest of his life in exile in China, dying in Jyekundo in 1937.

The Toba Abbot Incident

A third well known incident occurred when Reting, the Regent, attempted to force the retirement of the abbot of Mey College of his own Sera Monastery so that he could appoint one of his own supporters.

Reting's staunch supporter during his period of power consolidation in the late 1930s was the abbot of Toba College in Sera. Although this college carried the title of "abbot," it was in reality one of the anachronistic colleges that no longer had any monks or property. The abbacy of this college, however, was usually seen as a stepping stone in the monastic hierarchy, as it was common for the Toba abbot to be made the abbot of one of the real colleges when an opening occurred. Reting, however, wanted to award his ally, the Toba Abbot, immediately, so he decided to force the current abbot of Sera Mey College to resign and then appoint the Toba Abbot in his place.

The incumbent abbot of Mey College was a learned and pious elderly monk, admired and respected by all the monks. He was also a Khamba, and very close to the Pandatsang family, both of whom came from Markham. Pandatsang, in turn, was a close supporter of Reting. Consequently, Reting asked Pandatsang to convey to the abbot that he wanted him to resign from his position at once. Reting tried to sweeten the blow by offering the old abbot the title and rights of an ex–abbot (thereby making him eligible to attend the government and monastic assemblies) and giving him the yield from the estate assigned as salary to the Mey Abbot for one more year.[19] The old abbot did not wish to disobey the Regent and immediately agreed to resign. However, he knew that the monks of Sera Mey were not particularly fond of Reting, who was from their rival college (Sera Che), and he suspected that they would insist on his remaining abbot if he announced his

intentions to resign. He requested, therefore, to be allowed to resign without informing the monks. Reting agreed to this and the abbot submitted his written resignation.

The Sera Mey monks were first surprised and then incensed, as they gradually discovered what had transpired. Consequently, when the order came from the government to submit a list of candidates for the abbacy, the monks guessed (or were secretly told) that the reason behind the resignation was to allow Reting to appoint the Toba Abbot. They decided first to follow traditional rules and submitted to the government (Regent) a list of five unusually outstanding candidates, but they did not include the Toba Abbot among them. They also agreed internally to stage a mass walk-out if the Toba Abbot were appointed. Usually only a ranked list of names was submitted, but the Mey College monks were so angered that they added a written note:

> The elimination of our good abbot has made us very sad, but this is finished. We are not going to make any trouble about it. However, regarding the appointment of a new abbot, we have submitted the names of five first-rate candidates so please pick the new abbot from among these five. If this is not agreeable, we will send up other names to you. But there is one person whose name we will not send up: the Toba Abbot. He has a great wish to be abbot but he is not knowledgeable or scholarly and will not be a good abbot. He is good in politics, but is not good in religion. If you appoint him as abbot, then we will put away the rug on which the monks sit in the Prayer Hall and leave. To this all the monks have taken an oath.
>
> (Surkhang, interview)

This defiance placed the Regent in an extraordinarily difficult and potentially humiliating position. If he appointed the Toba Abbot, as was his right, the monks had already sworn that they would not accept him; and given the volatility of monks, they might even try to kill him. If Reting then took action against these monks, there was no telling what kind of support they would get from Drepung and Ganden Monasteries.

Reting turned for assistance to the most famous lama of Sera Mey, Phabongka. He was in the midst of giving religious teachings at Tashilhunpo, but the Regent sent a special messenger who travelled night and day to ask him to return at once. In Lhasa, the Regent explained the situation and asked Phabongka to persuade the monks to accept the Toba Abbot. Because most of them had taken teachings from him, and were thus in a student–teacher relationship to him, Phabongka was confident they would listen to him.

Phabongka invited the more influential monks in Sera Mey to come and see him, enjoining them to obey the Regent. The monks replied, "You are

our 'root' lama and whatever you say we will do. If you say die, we will die. However, agreeing to accept the Toba Abbot we will never do."

Phabongka scolded them, "If you do not listen to what your 'root' lama says, you are very bad indeed." The Mey College monks, however, would not yield. They offered Phabongka a gift of money that symbolized their belief in him, but Phabongka, angry and frustrated, threw the gift money back at them (Surkhang, interview). The monks, however, refused to acquiesce, reiterating that even if they, the higher monks, agreed to accept the Toba Abbot, the common monks would never agree.

Phabongka had to convey the monks' resolve to Reting, who then tried to intimidate them. He ordered blacksmiths in Lhasa to make publicly many arm and leg shackles and leaked the rumor that these were for the Sera Mey monks who were to be arrested by the government. After this public display, Reting ordered the Mey College leaders to come to his office in Shol, fully expecting that they, fearing arrest, would not come. If this ploy worked, he would have a more defensible issue to use against them if he chose to use force. But again he failed. The monk leaders first asked the common monks what they would do if the Regent arrested or killed them. When they swore to sacrifice their lives if necessary in support of their leaders, the Sera Mey officials went as ordered to Shol.

As though giving them a last chance, the Regent asked the Mey College officials what they were going to do, implying force might be used against them. The monks stood firm again, saying, "We have nothing to think about at all. If you want, you can put us all in prison but we cannot yield. Even if we wanted to change now, the lower monks will not let it be" (Surkhang, interview). Reting, though furious, now backed down rather than risk a violent confrontation with Sera Mey, and appointed one of the five candidates originally submitted for the abbacy.

However, Reting was not content to leave the matter as it stood. He decided to punish the monks of Sera Mey by venting his anger on the old Abbot. He expelled him from the monastery (on the grounds of fomenting discord), causing him to lose not only all his rights and income, but also his very home in the monastery. This in turn again embittered the monks who further humiliated the Regent by spreading the word that the life of the Toba Abbot was not safe if he returned to the monastery. Unwilling to risk this, the Toba Abbot now also had to resign (Surkhang, interview).

Conclusion

From the alleged attempt on the life of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama by Demo Hutoktu at the turn of the century to the disastrous attempt by Reting to assassinate the Regent Taktra in 1947, Tibet experienced a series of significant clashes between the Three Seats and the government, and between key elements in the Gelugpa religious segment. This discord, however, was typified not by conflict over the ideology that religion must dominate

in Tibet, but rather over the monks' belief that this meant that the interests of the monasteries should reign supreme. The Three Seats thus had no qualms about challenging the government when they felt their interests were at stake, for in their view they were more important than Ganden Photrang, the government headed by the Dalai Lamas. During the first half of the twentieth century, this perspective dominated the policies of the Three Seats and severely constrained the options available to the government. This, in turn, clearly played a major role in the ultimate demise of Ganden Photrang in Tibet in 1951–1959.

NOTES

1 Parts of the research data used in this paper were collected through grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Smithsonian Institution and the Program for Advanced Study and Research in China, National Academy of Sciences. I also want to express my appreciation to Tibet House (New Delhi), the Tibet Academy of Social Sciences (Lhasa), and the Tibetan Library and Archives (Dharamsala) for their cooperation.

2 Translation from a copy of the original document provided me by Lobsang Lhalungpa.

3 Although the past tense is used here, the Three Seat monasteries are again functioning both in Tibet and in India, albeit in attenuated form.

4 Interview with Dung–dkar Rinpoche.

5 See Goldstein 1964 for a discussion of these dabdo monks.

6 Khamtsen sometimes contained sub–dormitory units known as mitsen (*mi–tshan*) which were even more specific with regard to the geographic origin of the monks, e.g., a single region within Kham.

7 These three were the managers of Tsha Khamtsen, Gonggo (Kong–po) Khamtsen and Phugang Khamtsen, Loseling's three largest khamtsen.

8 Interview with the late Zur–khang Sa–dbang–chen–mo (hereafter Surkhang).

9 It is not clear whether they just wanted to give the estate to someone else as some have suggested, or whether they intended to retake administrative control over all such estates.

10 Shan–kha–ba n.d. The third manager, the Gongja, was released without punishment, most likely because he had not been in office 1910–1913.

11 Urgyenla, interview; Surkhang, interview; Bell 1946. The Tibetan term *grwa–pa blug* expresses this rushing out of the monks to protest and to intimidate the government. The verb *blug* normally denotes a substance bursting out of confinement, e.g., water from a hole in a dam.

12 IOR, L/PS/10/883, telegram from Bell (in Lhasa) to the Government of India (Delhi), dated 3rd August, 1921. Tsarong Dzasa (personal communication) contends that there were more than 700 troops in Lhasa at this time. He says the Bodyguard Regiment had 500, and that there were two to three other regiments in Lhasa. This may well be correct, but Bell was referring to *actual* troops on hand, for often a sizable portion of a regiment was on leave. In any case, even 1200 troops was still hardly an overwhelming force if a major confrontation developed.

13 IOR, L/PS/10/883, telegram from Bell (Lhasa) to Government of India, dated 3rd September, 1921, cited in telegram from Government of India to His Majesty's Government, dated 11th September, 1921.

[14] IOR, L/PS/10/883, telegram of Bell (Lhasa) to Government of India, dated 16th September, 1921, cited in telegram from Government of India to His Majesty's Government, dated 23rd September, 1921.

[15] IOR, L/PS/10/883, telegram from Bell (Lhasa) to Government of India, dated 16th September, 1921, cited in telegram from Government of India to His Majesty's Government, dated 23rd September, 1921.

[16] In Tengyeling's case the entire monastery had been razed to the ground in 1913 so that not even a single stone remained.

[17] IOR, L/PS/12/4174, letter from British Trade Agent (Gyantse) to Political Officer in Sikkim, dated 18th November, 1922. The British refused to intervene.

[18] IOR, L/PS/12/4174 (Pz 1769/24), British Trade Agent (Gyantse) to the Political Officer in Sikkim, circa. March, 1924.

[19] In other words, the Toba Abbot would not get the yield from the estate for his first year.

MONASTIC ORGANIZATION AND ECONOMY AT DWAGS–PO BSHAD–GRUB–GLING[1]

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Dwags–po Grwa–tshang was founded as a wandering community of monks in the fifteenth century by Blo–gros–brtan–pa (1402–1478), a disciple of Tsong–kha–pa. A likely time for the original foundation of Dwags–po Grwa–tshang might thus be in the decade 1450–1460.[2]

In 1509, the Second Dalai Lama invited Dwags–po Grwa–tshang to settle at Chos–'khor Rgyal, where he used the Dwags–po Grwa–tshang monks as the nucleus of summer sessions, a tradition that remained unbroken until the twentieth century. A few years later, in 1512, he gave the Dwags–po monks a temple, an assembly hall and living quarters, and established them as the first permanently resident college (*grwa–tshang*) at the new monastery. In 1526, the Second Dalai Lama was able to institute a program of regular payments for travel expenses and free tea and meals for the more than 300 monks attending the summer sessions. By 1527, he was able to describe the monastery as comprised of two subdivisions: the Gzhi–pa or "Base Monastery," i.e., the Gzhi–pa Grwa–tshang; and the Byes–pa, "Wanderers," with Dwags–po Grwa–tshang the foremost among them.

By the end of the seventeenth century the number of monks in Dwags–po Grwa–tshang was 330. By 1748, only the Gzhi–pa and Dwags–po Grwa–tshangs remained of the five colleges which had been at Chos–'khor Rgyal. Here, as they had done since 1509, they based themselves for the summer sessions and then travelled for the rest of the year around the districts of Dwags–po, 'Ol–dga' and E.[3]

Bshad–grub–gling, where the Dwags–po Grwa–tshang monks would finally settle, was established during the lifetime of the Eighth Zhwa–nag Karma–pa, probably in the mid–1540s, and it was extensively refurbished by the Ninth Zhwa–nag Karma–pa, Dbang–phyug–rdo–rje (1556–1603). Just when and under what circumstances Bshad–grub–gling was rededicated as a Dge–lugs–pa convent remains a question for future research.

Bshad–grub–gling was internally divided into two (financially interdependent) colleges, the Byes–pa Grwa–tshang and the Gzhi–pa Grwa–tshang. The Byes–pa College was the philosophy college, and Gzhi–pa the college of mantra.[4] Between the years 1936–1959, Bshad–grub–gling had an average enrolment of between seven and eight hundred monks.

The problem to be discussed in this paper concerns the number of monks enrolled at Bshad–grub–gling and the resources available to support them. When Bshad–grub Grwa–tshang was first dedicated, there was an upper

limit of some 300 monks. This is the figure given in the "older" monastic constitution (*bca'-yig*).[5] We cannot be sure whether this was the same number that first settled in Bshad-grub-gling, but it seems a reasonable assumption that the number was not much higher. Originally, the only estates the monastery had were Mda' and Cha-mal (see below). Perhaps until the beginning decades of this century, the returns of these and the other estates that had been acquired over the years were sufficient to meet the needs of the monastery for the support of its inmates. For reasons of which we cannot be sure, the enrolment seems to have climbed rapidly from the 1920s until it reached between seven and eight hundred monks from the 1930s through the 1950s. It may be that the number of monks rose so dramatically due to a general population increase in the Dwags-po and Kong-po regions during the early part of this century. Also, the monastery had acquired many generous patrons and, we must not forget, it had a wide reputation for excellent scholarship and strict discipline.

The monastery (i.e., the *gnyer-tshang* office) was responsible for providing a "salary" (*phogs*) directly to the monks. It was the duty of the *sde-pa*, the official in charge of the *gnyer-tshang* office, to give each monk at Bshad-grub-gling remuneration (*phogs*) as follows:

A. ten *khal*[6] of barley, distributed in the following way: one-and-a-half *khal* six times per year, while the monks were resident at Bshad-grub-gling, on the first day of the interval (*chos-mtshams*) between dharma-sessions (*chos-thog*); one *khal* when the Byes-pa monks were at the E *chos-thog* for the summer retreat (*dbyar-gnas*) at Chos-'khor Rgyal.

B. fifteen *kha-zas* (Tibetan pastry) to each monk on the anniversary of Tsong-kha-pa's death and on New Year's Day.

In order to collect his *phogs* a monk was obliged to attend an entire dharma-session. Moreover, during every dharma-session the *gnyer-tshang* office had to provide each monk with daily servings of some eleven bowls of tea and two of soup (*thug-pa*).

The grain for *phogs* amounted to some 7200 *khal* distributed among the seven to eight hundred monks. Additionally some 800 khal per year were required for seed, and some additonal 120 *khal* to meet the expenses of the *gnyer-tshang*'s officials and animals.[7] However, of all Bshad-grub-gling's estates, only the one called Dbor met its quota and produced a slight surplus. The production of all the other estates produced a shortfall of some 600 or 700 *khal*.

When monastic enrolment had been lower, the *gnyer-tshang* was easily able to supply the tea and the grain necessary to make the *thug-pa* as well. Due to the growth of the monastic population, this had become impossible. Hence, the *gnyer-tshang* made an annual token payment of tea and barley to the other monastic office, the *spyi-bso*, which either used tea or grain contributed by patrons or its own resources to purchase the necessary tea

and grain in order to supplement the *gnyer–tshang*'s meager contribution. These supplies were doled out every day of a dharma–session to the monastic kitchen (*rung–khang*) by the *spyi–bso*.

Ironically, even though the *gnyer–tshang* had trouble in meeting its obligations to the monks, the *spyi–bso* was very well endowed, but these two offices were separate and responsible for different sectors of the monastery's overall finances. The *spyi–bso* was not allowed to bail the *gnyer–tshang* out of its troubles, because the *sde–pa*, the official in charge of it, as we shall see, was an outsider who could possibly use the system to his own advantage. The relationship of these two offices was a matter of checks and balances against possible abuse of the system.

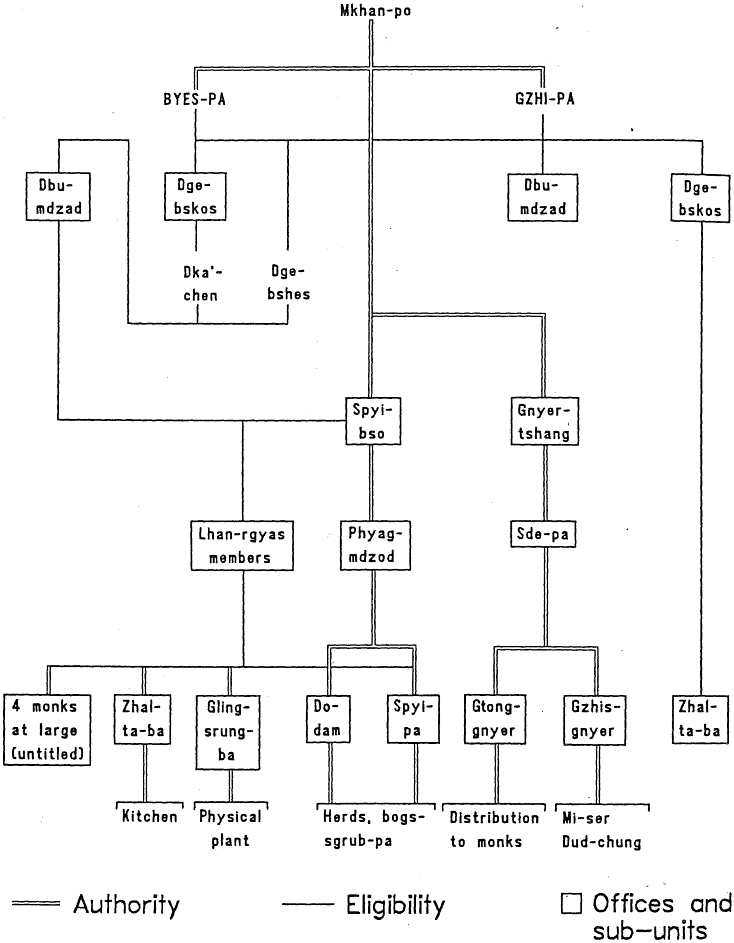
The Colleges

The majority of Bshad–grub–gling monks were enrolled in Byes–pa College.[8] Byes–pa monks travelled during part of the academic year, and studied logic, Mādhyamika, Abhidharma, Vinaya and Prajñāpāramitā. For the first three years, aside from memorizing ritual prayers, all studied logic. During the first year, every student memorized the *Abhisamayālaṁkāra*. Each year more works were memorized and each year monks were tested. After three years a division was made between good students or readers (*sgrog–gleng–ba*; *dpe–cha–ba*) and those who did not study logic (*sgrog–gleng med–pa* or *sgrog–med*). About thirty percent of the monks in Bshad–grub–gling were *dpe–cha–ba*.

The enrolment of Gzhi–pa College was quite small; it contained some fifty or sixty monks in all. Unlike the Byes–pa monks, these monks did not travel, and remained in the base (*gzhi*) monastery. Monks from Gzhi–pa College were automatically classified as *sgrogs–med*. Failures in examinations resulted in demotion from the rank of *dpe–cha–ba* to *sgrog–med*, although the latter status was not necessarily permanent. Satisfactory performance in debating and in assigned studies could result in reinstatement or reclassification from *sgrog–med* status.

The fourth, fifth and sixth years of a monk's education was devoted to the study of Prajñāpāramitā. Each year the monks had to take two examinations, one in the recitation of memorized books and the other in debating.

The seventh, eighth and ninth years concentrated on the study of Mādhyamika, with similar examinations as before. Until the ninth year the monks were called students (*dge–phrug*); they were under the supervision of their own teachers (*dge–rgan*). After the ninth year they became *dge–rgan* and were allowed to sleep in a separate *shag* or *spyi–khang*.[9] The teachers were responsible for collecting their own food when it was distributed and they themselves were under the supervision of the *dge–bskos* (provost). The latter were *sgrog–med* monks, who were selected from the senior monks four times per year (sometimes five times in extended years).


Mkhan-po
BYES-PA
GZHI-PA
Dbu-mdzad
Dge-bskos
Dbu-mdzad
Dge-bskos
Dka'-chen
Dge-bshes
Spyi-bso
Gnyer-tshang
Lhan-rgyas members
Phyag-mdzod
Sde-pa
4 monks at large (untitled)
Zhal-ta-ba
Gling-srung-ba
Do-dam
Spyi-pa
Gtong-gnyer
Gzhis-gnyer
Zhal-ta-ba
Kitchen
Physical plant
Herds, bogs-sgrub-pa
Distribution to monks
Mi-ser Dud-chung
Authority
Eligibility
Offices and sub-units

For the next three years monks concentrated on the study of Vinaya and after their twelfth year, they began the study of Abhidharma. By this time, they were typically twenty–one years old, and in addition to their continuing to study and pray, all *sgrog–med* monks began to work for the monastery in various jobs such as kitchen work or maintaining the physical plant. For the *dpe–cha–ba* working was optional.

Monastic Offices

Unlike many other major monasteries, Bshad–grub–gling housed no associated *bla–brang*. The abbot (*mkhan–po*) was the religious head of the monastery. He must have earned his *dge–bshes* degree at Bshad–grub–gling and have studied at Rgyud–smad in Lhasa. He was chosen by the Dalai Lama from three names selected by a vote of the *lhan–rgyas* (see below), and he served for a three–year period. He was the final religious authority and he appointed the *dbu–mdzad* (ritual/musical chief), and the *dge–bskos*, who in turn chose their own assistants (*dge–g.yog*) who were always *dge–bshes* or ex–*dge–bskos*. The *dbu–mdzad* remained in office until retirement or death.

The Lhan–rgyas

The appointment of a new abbot would begin with a council (*lhan–rgyas*), which consisted of the *dbu–mdzad* and eight monks. These monks had originally been chosen to serve by the monks at large. In time voting was limited to *dka'–chen*[10] and *dge–bshes*, who voted on members of their own groups to serve on the *lhan–rgyas*. Once appointed, a monk remained on the council so long as he was in residence in the monastery.

The monk selected to be the *zhal–ta–ba* supervised the kitchen and its staff. He was likely to be a *dka'–chen*, who had had some experience in this regard, such as having been a tea server (*phyag–the–ba*) or a cook (*ma–byan*) during his youth. The *zhal–ta–ba* was then regarded as the senior member of the *lhan–rgyas*, regardless of his age or actual entrance date into the monastery. Only the *dbu–mdzad* and the *zhal–ta–ba* were permitted the keys and seals to strongboxes containing monastic documents.

Another member, the *gling–srung–ba*, was in charge of the repair and maintenance of the physical plant and its surrounding grounds as well as all religious objects and materials (*chos–rdzas*) at Bshad–grub–gling. He cooperated with the provost who provided *sgrog–med* monks to do necessary repair and maintenance work. A third member of the *lhan–rgyas* acted as *spyi–pa* (see below) and a fourth official, the *do–dam*, was in charge of the herds (*ru–ba*) belonging to the monastery. Every summer the *do–dam* picked a small staff and the eight herds of yak and hybrids (*mdzo–mo*) were counted and their butter production was checked.[11]

The actual herding was done by *bogs–sgrub–pa* families belonging to Bshad–grub–gling. Altogether some 300 persons — about sixty families — held this status. Most of them had probably run away from other lords in

various places, although some had undoubtedly been in the region from the days of the old monastery. *Bogs–sgrub–pa* paid a small annual yearly lease–fee (*bogs*), perhaps a *srang* or two, to Bshad–grub–gling. They received a document stating that they had sought refuge from Bshad–grub–gling, were welcome there, and that from now on they were Bshad–grub–gling's *bogs–sgrub–pa*. The *phyag–mdzod* (treasurer of the *spyi–bso*) selected from among them the persons to tend the herds. Those chosen received salaries. A herd manager (*she–dpon*) received roughly eighteen *khal* of grain per year; *she–ma* (milkers and churners), fourteen or fifteen *khal*; herdsmen (*rdzi–pa*), about twelve *khal*. There were one manager, two *she–ma*, and one or two herdsmen for each herd.

Additionally *bogs–sgrub–pa* were called to do porterage on certain occasions. Bshad–grub–gling had the custom of visiting Lhasa with all monks during the following times: every thirteen years to deliver prayers for the Dalai Lama's *dgung–skeg* (an astrologically inauspicious time, during which prayers and rituals are performed for his well–being), when he took his *dge–tshul* and *dge–slong* vows, on the occasion of his coronation (*khri–phebs*), and when he got his *dge–bshes* degree. At those times, large numbers of wooden items, such as trays, large bowls and tables, had to be transported to Lhasa from Dwags–po, which was rich in forest, to be presented to the Dalai Lama and various government offices. The *bogs–sgrub–pa* also were employed as salaried laborers from time to time by the *gnyer–tshang*; unlike the *spyi–bso*, the *gnyer–tshang* office had no right to command their labor.

The butter output of the herds was, of course, crucial to the support of the monks. Their total annual output was perhaps 2800 *khal* (roughly 20,000 pounds). Every day of a dharma–session, ten to twelve *khal* of butter were used for tea and lamp fuel. On an annual basis some 1800 *khal* were used in this manner. Part of the surplus could be sold, locally in small amounts, or in bulk in Lhasa where it fetched a much higher price. Most of it was stored and then sold to patrons of religious ceremonies who had come from afar. They were much more likely, if they brought ceremonial provisions (*bsnyen–bkur*) at all, to transport items like rice, wheat, tea, or lentils, rather than butter.

The Spyi–bso

The *spyi–bso* building had a granary (*'bru–khang*) on the first floor, storage space for valuables offered to the monastery on the second, and more storage space, as well as the living quarters for the treasurer (*phyag–mdzod*) and his assistant (*spyi–pa*), on the third.

Whatever a patron offered to the monastery — money, grain, tea, food, robes, etc. — was stored there. Jewelry was sold and the money used to buy other provisions. Due to the drastic inflation in butter and grain prices between the 1930s and the 1950s, the *spyi–bso* usually tried to convert cash and items like jewelry, which had no immediate use, to grain.[12] A patron

could make a large endowment, called *ma–rtsa* (capital). It was not spent, but rather lent out at interest. The loans were mostly made to persons and houses within a twenty–five mile radius of the monastery. The standard rate of interest on a loan of grain was one *khal* for every five per year (*lnga drug 'gro*). The rate on money was eight *srang* for fifty for each three–year period. The principal had to be repaid every three years at the changeover of the abbot (who picked the *spyi–bso* functionaries). For grain the principal could be repaid in a year, but to this the borrower had to add *rkam–chag*, a prepayment penalty of two *phul* of grain. It was to the advantage of the monastery to make a three–year loan, because of the moisture content of the grain. The two *phul* of grain added to the principal of a one–year loan were to make up what would eventually be lost in moisture since the grain was newer.

Loans of cash were also made. The rate of interest (*bskyed*) was eight *srang* per year for every fifty borrowed. Unlike loans on grain, the interest was not paid yearly, but only at the end of the three years.

The *spyi–bso* also dealt with income from patrons of the monastery who gave money for such things as the performance of prayers, rituals, the repetition of mantras or the reading of scriptures. If there was a request for monks to perform ceremonies at a patron's house (*grong–chog*), the *spyi–bso* would request the provost to send out monks. They were always selected in the order of their seniority in the assembly hall. If the patron wished for a ceremony to be performed every year, he would donate a capital sum; for a smaller amount, or for a donation of food and other items, ceremonies would be performed singly.

The expenses entailed in these requests could be considerable. Most of the rituals performed for patrons required almost the entire assembly of monks. Tea, butter and foodstuffs for *thug–pa* (soup) for the assembly had to be provided for the duration of the services. A bowl of tea for each of 700 monks required one–and–a–half *bzhi–thig* of tea, one–and–a–half *khal* of butter, one *bre* of salt and a bit of soda (*bul–tog*).[13] One round of *thug–pa* for the monks required two *khal* of grain (approximately fifty pounds of rice, wheat, corn or barley), two–and–a–half *bre* of salt, and whatever meat or vegetables the donor might care to contribute.[14] In a full day's ritual, each monk would drink eleven bowls of tea and eat two bowls of *thug–pa*. The second *thug–pa*, eaten just before noon, was generally made only with a little *rtsam–pa*, and hence it was less expensive than the first, taken at mid–morning. The entire cost of a ceremony of this length might then run to 400 or 450 *srang* in the 1940s. Moreover a present of cash (*'gyed*), amounting to one or two *srang*, was also distributed to each monk, or at the end of the popular but lengthy *Maṇi gdung–phyur* ceremony, five to ten *srang* each.

The monastery had several large patrons and many smaller ones. Since the overall patronage varied widely, it is impossible to estimate how much

income the monastery took in this way on an average yearly basis. When a patron did make a contribution of tea or grain, the *spyi–bso* deducted the equivalent amount from its own supplementary contribution for the monks' upkeep that it had been making to the *gnyer–tshang*. Large surpluses were also accumulated in this fashion. Every three years the interest was then given to the monks in the form of tea, food, clothing or cash.

The abbot had the ultimate authority and responsibility for the *spyi–bso*, but due to his many other responsibilites, he appointed a treasurer. To be eligible for the position of treasurer (*phyag–mdzod*), the candidate must have been a provost (*dge–bskos*) at Bshad–grub–gling, after which he was called *dka'–chen*. An assistant (*spyi–pa*) from the *lhan–rgyas* council was also selected to help the treasurer. Since the abbot was selected every three years, a new *phyag–mdzod* and *spyi–pa* were also selected; but the same persons might actually be selected over several years, providing they had done a good job.

These two officials then took up residence in the *spyi–bso* building, taking with them only the clothes they were wearing and a tea bowl. At the end of their tenure, they left with nothing more than they had brought.[15] At the end of their terms, the outgoing treasurer and *spyi–pa* had to give an inventory and audit to the *lhan–rgyas* of everything kept in the treasury and hand it over to the new appointee through the *lhan–rgyas*. If a shortfall existed in the principal amounts of cash and grain, the outgoing *phyag–mdzod* had to arrange to make up the difference, even with temporary loans, so that the new appointee could begin his tenure with exactly the same amount. Written records were also kept. Every item of value was counted out, the amount of the endowment capital and the identity of the patrons was accounted for. Whatever was left over after the accounting, i.e., whatever profit and interest the *spyi–bso* made during the three year period, was used in various ways. Some was given to the *lhan–rgyas* for any needed repairs to the main buildings at Bshad–grub–gling. The rest was divided up equally between the monks to be used to pay for tea, clothes, repair to quarters, and so forth.

The *spyi–bso* did not have control over land, only over livestock, grain, cash and other donations. Land was under the control of the *gnyer–tshang* (see below). The *spyi–bso*, on the other hand, could invest money donated by patrons in such things as livestock which, through reproduction, increased the size and profit of the herds.[16]

The Gnyer–tshang

This office was in charge of all the estates owned by Bshad–grub–gling as well as those persons occupying tenement lands. *Mi–ser* families held and farmed land that belonged to the monastery. *Mi–ser* had *khral–rten*, "tax-base" tenement land belonging to Bshad–grub–gling, which they farmed for their own subsistence. (In the local usage of Bshad–grub–gling, only *khral–*

pa, those holding tax–base lands, were referred to as *mi–ser*.) This land was held in perpetuity and was heritable. They did not pay taxes in cash or kind to the *gnyer–tshang*, but the *mi–ser* families had to perform corvée services (*'u–lag*) on the demesne lands directly held by the *gnyer–tshang*. The number of persons who performed *'u–lag* depended on the amount of land held by a *mi–ser* family.

They paid two kinds of tax. Bshad–grub–gling was responsible for providing the government with a fixed tax of transport service (*rta'u*) and a corvée (*phyi–khral 'u–lag*) involving special projects such as road repair, etc. The *mi–ser* were responsible for fulfilling these obligations. On the other hand, they also had to provide persons for labor and transport on the demesne lands of the *gnyer–tshang* (*nang–khral*). While the *mi–ser* provided their own seed, draught animals and labor for their own tenement holdings, the *gnyer–tshang* was responsible for providing the seed and animals for the demesne lands.

Bshad–grub–gling had only about ten *mi–ser* families under its control, which was not enough to provide the necessary labor for agricultural land held by the *gnyer–tshang*. Thus more corvée labor came from families that had no *khral–rten* tenements of their own to farm, but did have a house on land belonging to Bshad–grub–gling. Most of these *dud–chung* families earned their living as cooks, hunters, traders, weavers, tailors, carpenters, and especially as field laborers. *Dud–chung* families did not pay taxes or rent to Bshad–grub–gling, but were obligated to provide manpower to do *'u–lag* labor for the *gnyer–tshang*. Some *dud–chung* families did hold small amounts of tenement lands or pasture, or rented small tenancies. But, unlike the *mi–ser*, they were not responsible for *phyi–khral* or taxes owed to the government. For both *mi–ser* and *dud–chung*, the *gnyer–tshang* was obliged to provide one *thug–pa* in the morning and tea or *chang* (beer) thrice daily while they were performing *'u–lag*.

The official in charge of the *gnyer–tshang* was called the *sde–pa* (steward). He was selected by the same process as the abbot. Monks who at one time or another had studied at Bshad–grub–gling, but had not completed their *dge–bshes* degrees or had held any title there (i.e., had been a *dge–bskos* or *dka'–chen*), were eligible to be appointed to the stewardship. It was common to nominate a monk who had become wealthy in his own monastery, so that, if necessary, he could use his wealth to make up the needs of the *gnyer–tshang* office. At the end of his three year term, he got to keep any profits for himself (*khe za gyong 'khur*). However, the last *sde–pa* to have made a profit was one in the 1920s.

The *sde–pa* appointed a *gtong–gnyer* (paymaster) who issued *phogs* to the monks and estate managers (*gzhis–gnyer*), who were usually laymen. There were two managers: one for Dbor and one for both Rkam–sa and Bkral. The *sde–pa* himself usually supervised Mda', which was the area immediately adjacent to Bshad–grub–gling. No special managers were sent to the other

estates, but monks were sent to check on them periodically. The eight estates belonging to Bshad–grub–gling were:

Estate Name	Mi–ser	Land Use
1. Mda'	4 families	agricultural
2. Rkam–sa	4 families	agro–pastoral
3. Bkral		agro–pastoral
4. Bkra–shis steng–kha		agricultural
5. Cha–mal	1 family	agricultural
6. Dbor	1 family	agro–pastoral
7. Thos–bsam–gling		agricultural
8. Rlung–gshong		agricultural

In some cases, the *dud–chung* families on these estates fell into rather peculiar arrangments. Those on Bkral (Bkral–pa *dud–chung*) numbered some twenty–five families. Bkral was a valley, part of one of two estates belonging to the aristocratic Dwags–po Bhrum–pa family. This family donated a section of the Bkral valley to Bshad–grub–gling, while it was still a Karma Bka'–brgyud convent. Therefore, these families owed tax obligations to both Bshad–grub–gling and the Bhrum–pa family. They were not Bshad–grub–gling's *mi–rtsa* (human resources; persons over whose labor Bshad–grub–gling had a demand–right). The estate usually produced a shortfall of grain.

Mda' contained the best fields owned by the monastery, and was the main estate. The soil was excellent and yielded some fifteen *khal* of grain for every one of seed, but it still produced a shortfall.

Rkam–sa did not have very good land, yielding five or six *khal* for each one of seed.

The situation on Bkra–shis steng–kha was very peculiar. This estate was in E Lab, the birthplace of Ma–gcig Lab–sgron. It seems as if the estate had once belonged to the Lha–rgya–ri family. It then became a nunnery of Ma–gcig's followers, and, for reasons unknown, the estate was donated to Bshad–grub–gling. In 1959, the temple, containing Ma–gcig's statue, was still there, and the *dud–chung* families were still referred to as *btsun–ma* (nuns), regardless of their sex. They were not Bshad–grub–gling's *mi–rtsa*, but Lha–rgya–ri's.

The Cha–mal estate, along with Bkra–shis steng–kha, produced the grain needed for the summer retreat. Since only about three hundred monks attended, these estates needed to produce only one *khal* of grain apiece. Cha–mal also was to have produced enough to provide *rtsam–pa* for the monks' arrival in 'Ol–dga', in addition to the regular *phogs*. However there was always a shortfall.

Dbor produced just enough to provide Dbor *chos–thog*, seed for replanting and the *gnyer–tshang*'s expenses in paying *phogs* to the laborers.

Thos–bsam–gling contained just a few fields and produced only twenty or thirty *khal* of grain. There were apple and peach orchards though, and the fruits were sold for cash. There was also an assembly hall there, and the monk assigned to take care of it had also to be supported. This estate always cost the *gnyer–tshang* money.

Rlung–gshong was at one time the site where the Ka–rab dharma–session took place. It did not supply sufficient grain for *phogs* for this session, which was more recently held at the monastery itself. The fields here were excellent with a very high yield, but they were traditionally worked on a sharecropping (*shas*) basis. This cut the monastery's portion of the grain crop in half, but allowed it to save on the portion put aside for seed, since this was the sharecropper's responsibility. (After 1957, Chos–nang became the ninth estate; see below.)

In the past, when the monastery had only around three hundred monks, it was possible for the *sde–pa* to get rich in his three years. But the monastic enrolment grew over the last few centuries to around eight hundred, and there was no commensurate increase in the number of estates under the control of Bshad–grub–gling. When a new *sde–pa* took over the *gnyer–tshang*, there was an accounting of all assets, an enumeration of estates, fields, houses, *mi–ser* families, etc. The *sde–pa* often wound up with a shortage in the *gnyer–tshang* accounts at the end of his three years; if so, he was liable for making it up out of his own resources.

Once appointed, the *sde–pa* chose an assistant called the *gtong–gnyer*. The *gtong–gnyer* had to be a *dka'–chen* or *dge–bshes* from Bshad–grub–gling, but did not necessarily have to be in residence at the time of his appointment. Once he found someone qualified and willing to serve, the *sde–pa* did not have to seek approval from the *lhan–rgyas*.

Travel and the Monastic Routine

The academic year was divided into intervals called *chos–thog* and *chos–mtshams*. *Chos–thog* was a term of devotion to religious duties and study. The *chos–mtshams* was the interval between *chos–thog* used by the monks for collecting the salary (*phogs*) of barley issued by the *gnyer–tshang* on the first day of these periods, and making it into the staple food, *rtsam–pa*; for making new robes; for doing other nonreligious chores, and so forth.

There were either nine or ten *chos–thog* per year. On the eighth day of the eighth Tibetan month, all monks were required to be present at the single morning assembly. (Henceforth all dates will be given as Tibetan month/day.) On 8/16, the *gnyer–tshang* distributed one–and–a–half *khal* of barley for the current *chos–mtshams* and the following *chos–thog*. This interval lasted for about eight days, and the first autumn term (*ston–chos dang–po*) began, lasting until 9/4.

After an interval of a few days, the second autumn term (*ston-chos gnyis-pa*) began and continued until 10/5. This was followed by another interval and the next autumn term which ended on 10/25. On 10/26–27, there was a religious dance (*'cham*) given by the monks of Gzhi-pa College, widely attended by the lay people of the area.

Another interval followed the *'cham*, followed by the first winter term (*dgun-chos dang-po*), early in the eleventh month; this was followed by another interval and the second winter term, ending on 11/24.

This was followed by an interval of eight days, during which the entire Byes-pa College, along with the abbot and *spyi-pa*, went to the monastery's estate at Dwags-po Dbor,[17] where the examinations of students in their first three years took place. It was a four-day walk from Bshad-grub-gling to Dbor. On the first day of the trip, the monks crossed the Gtsang-po and stayed overnight at the monastic estate of Thos-bsam-gling in Rgya-tsha. The next morning they went eastward over a pass and recrossed the river, staying at a village called Rab-btang. The next day they stayed overnight at Gro-mda'. The next day they reached Dbor. Every year the monks stayed one month and one day at Dbor, although the visit might be broken by a side trip. The New Year was always spent at Dbor, but for this period the *gnyer-tshang* issued a ration of *rtsam-pa* (rather than grain), as much as the monks could eat, which was provided by the Dbor estate.

Every other year, instead of returning to Bshad-grub-gling, the monks went to Snang-rdzong for the Snang *chos-thog*.[18] This estate, a half a day away from Dbor, belonged to the Glang-mdun (the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's natal) family. They stayed there for ten days at an assembly hall belonging to Snang estate during which time they were supported by the estate, which supplied *rtsam-pa*, butter and other foodstuffs. Tea was supplied by the Bla-phyag Office in Lhasa.

The monks returned to Bshad-grub-gling, passing through the estate of Dbor, where they stayed again for one or two days, whatever was needed to fulfill the one month, one day period. Then they returned via Gro-mda', where they stayed overnight, and then to Rlung and Thos-bsam-gling. They returned to Bshad-grub-gling the next day. After several days' interval, the first spring term (*dpyid-chos dang-po*), lasting more than ten days, began.

The term following the next interval was called Ka-rab *chos-thog*, named after an area close to Bshad-grub-gling, where the monastery owned land. This was the term during which debates were held.

During the following interval no barley was issued (*phogs-med chos-thog*). The monks were supposed to have saved sufficient barley from their earlier ration for this interval and the succeeding fifteen-day term. This was the only term in which the monks received no *phogs*.

Around 4/19–20, the Byes-pa College then went to the Lha-rgya-ri estates in the region of E. The Lha-rgya-ri family traces its ancestry to the

ancient monarchy. The family seat is a palace in the village of Ri–sgo–zhol on the south bank of the Gtsang–po, east of the Yar–klung Valley. They arrived there on 4/21. Although the trip could normally be accomplished in two days, for the E *chos–thog* the trip took four.

On the first day, the monks stopped for a hot lunch (*gsol–tsha*) at Ka–rab Rdzam and stayed overnight at Lha–gsol Rdzong. (Some twenty monks did not attend the E *chos–thog*, but instead left for their home monasteries or their homes.) On the second, they stopped for a hot lunch at La–zur, staying overnight in the valley below the Po–te La (Pass) at a site called Gru–zur Dgon. On the third day, they ate lunch at Spyang–khu–stod and stopped for the night at Lnga–'bring Chos–sde, a Dge–lugs–pa monastery where they were supplied with tea and soup. On the fourth day, they reached Lha–rgya–ri in time for a hot lunch.

For the approximately thirty days of their entire stay, all support was provided by the Lha–rgya–ri family. The monks stayed in an assembly hall in front of the palace, while the abbot and his attendents had rooms above the assembly hall.

After the first twenty days, they went on to Mtsho–stod for a hot lunch and then to Rong Rdzong, a small estate belonging to Lha–rgya–ri, which provided support for ten days. They then returned to Lha–rgya–ri by way of Mtsho–stod, where they stopped for hot lunch. In addition to provisioning the monks for their entire stay there, the Lha–rgya–ri family also provided large amounts of *rtsam–pa* for special prayers.[19]

On 6/6, the monks departed Lha–rgya–ri, crossed a pass to Gong–po and stayed overnight in the house of the aristocrat family Gong–po Khang–gsar, who provided tea and food. The next day, they crossed another pass and went on to Bkra–shis–steng–kha, an estate belonging to Bshad–grub–gling, and stayed there for three days, before leaving on 6/10 to ferry across the Gtsang–po to Rin–chen–sgang, a Bka'–brgyud–pa monastery, for an overnight stop. The monastery provided tea and a morning meal.

On 6/11, they stopped overnight at 'Ol–dga'. Here the formal travel came to an end and monks who wished to do so were now free to leave the monastic group, to visit their own monasteries, or to go about their own business. About four hundred monks left at this point. There was insufficient room at Chos–'khor Rgyal (see below) for the entire retinue.

Due to the generosity of the Lha–rgya–ri family, there was a large amount of *rtsam–pa*, plus the monks' personal belongings to transport. Most monks sent whatever uneaten *rtsam–pa* they had ahead to Chos–'khor Rgyal. This monastery is located in a nomad area, and there the *rtsam–pa* would be traded for butter. The monks could not carry such large amounts of *rstam–pa*. Bshad–grub–gling held a special transport document called *grangs–med bka'–shog*, which had been granted by the Fifth Dalai Lama. It was a scroll on yellow brocade. It specified that the monks of Bshad–grub–gling, when they

travelled together in a body, were entitled to conscript unlimited numbers of transport animals no matter where they went.

On 6/12, the remaining three hundred monks would go to Cha–mal, an estate belonging to Bshad–grub–gling, for a hot lunch, and then on to Nyi–ma–gling, a Bka'–brgyud–pa monastery, for an overnight stop. (In former years, the monks stopped at 'Bri–lung, but the lodging there was old and unsatisfactory, so the overnight stop was moved.)

On 6/13, the monks stopped at a meadow called Ser–sha Thang (Mushroom Meadow) for a hot lunch and then on to Phan–bde Dgon for an overnight stay. Only the ruins of this monastery existed, and the monks stayed in tents.

On 6/14, the monks crossed the Dbyung La (Pass) to arrive at the monastery of Chos–'khor Rgyal in time for a hot noon meal. The summer retreat (*dbyar–gnas*) at Chos–'khor Rgyal lasted from 6/15 until 7/30. Monks from Mnga'–ris Grwa–tshang also came there at this time, where, together with the monks from Chos–'khor Rgyal itself, they assembled twice in the morning and once in the evening in Chos–'khor Rgyal's assembly hall. (Here Bshad-grub–gling was referred to as Dwags–po Grwa–tshang; each of the three monasteries actually had their own assembly hall at Chos–'khor Rgyal.) The monks from all three convents practiced their debating here.

Every day of the summer retreat at Chos–'khor Rgyal, the Rdzong–dpon, also called the Rgyal *gnyer–sdod* (resident steward at Chos–'khor Rgyal), had to supply tea and soup for the two morning assemblies and tea for the evening assembly at government expense. This custom was established in 1526.

On the four–day journey back to Bshad–grub–gling, the monks stopped at a large park called Rtsi–na–kha between Chos–'khor Rgyal and Rgya–tsha until 8/3, where the monks picnicked and played games. This was the only time such activity was manifestly allowed.

On the evening of the same day, they stayed in the assembly hall of Thos–bsam–gling, the estate belonging to Bshad–grub–gling in Rgya–tsha. They stayed there until 8/7, recrossed the Gtsang–po and reached Bshad–grub–gling in time for the noon meal.

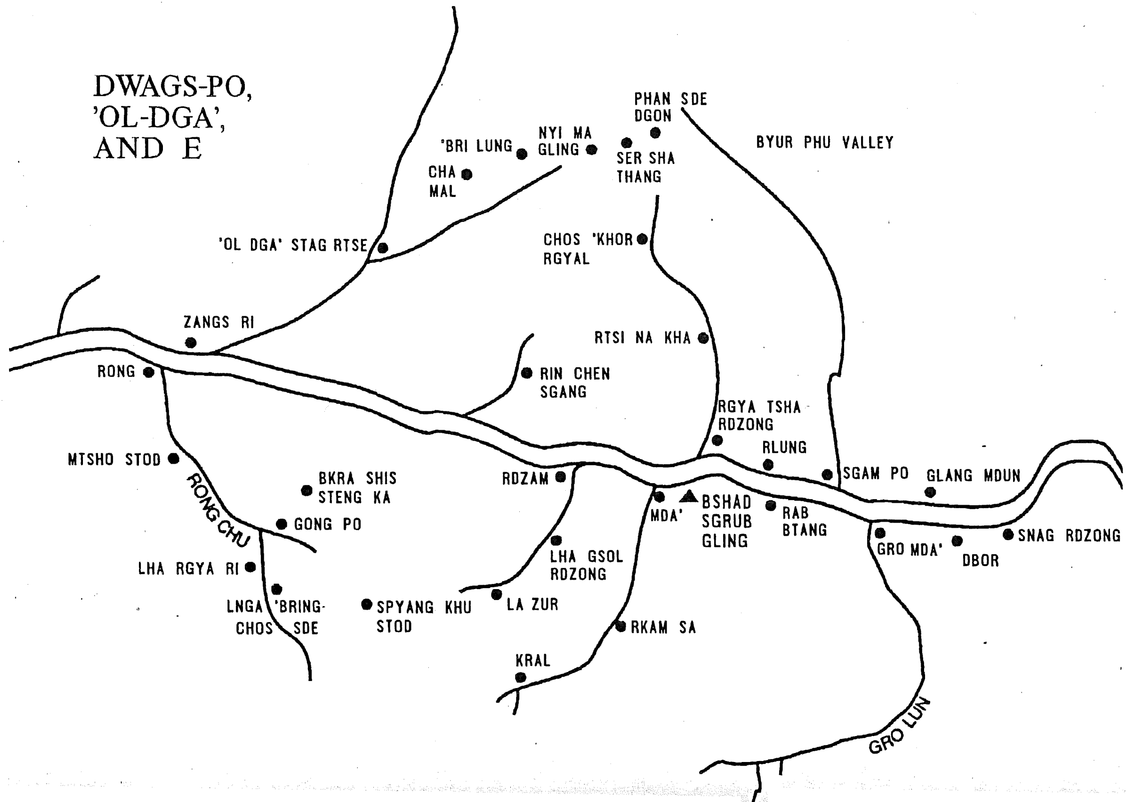
Epilogue

By the middle of this century, the income from Bshad–grub–gling's estates were inadequate to maintain the monks. Around 1946, a delegation from the *lhan–rgyas* went to Lhasa to explain the financial problems to the government. The government allotted six hundred *khal* of barley each year for a five–year period, but it was still not enough to maintain the monastic community. The monastery had actually applied for assistance before this time, but had simply been put off by the government. What had stimulated the government's generosity in this case was a near–riot by the monks. They had not been given *phogs* for over two months.

The *gnyer–tshang*'s office also had sent several requests for funds to Lhasa. In 1950, the *bka'–shag* (council of ministers) approved a grant in barley and, starting in 1951, Bshad–grub–gling also received a grant of cash from the funds collected for the Lhasa Smon–lam chen–mo, equivalent to the *'gyed* received by participants in the Smon–lam festivities for each monk enrolled in Bshad–grub–gling. This grant was still in effect in 1959.

Late in 1957, the financial situation was eased when the government took control of a large estate in E which it turned over to Bshad–grub–gling. This estate, called Chos–nang, had belonged to the Lha–rgya–ri family. Some time previously, there had been a three–way split in the family. The chief or senior male (the Khri–chen) retained control over most of the estates belonging to Lha–rgya–ri. One brother founded a family called Shar–byang. During the present century the Chos–nang estate was disputed between the Shar–byang and Lha–rgya–ri families for some forty years. Finally, the Shar–byang family asked the goverment to take control of the estate, which it did. The estate contained some 1340 fields, mostly small plots in unproductive hilly country. Due to the income generated, from that point on the *gnyer–tshang* should have been in sound financial shape and the central government then decreed that the *gnyer–tshang* no longer needed a *sde–pa*. From then until March, 1959, two monks from the *lhan–rgyas* were in charge of the *gnyer–tshang*.

But only the land itself had been transferred to Bshad–grub–gling. Since the Lha–rgya–ri and Shar–byung families had never disputed the matter of the *khral–pa*, *dud–chung* and others on that land, but only over possession of the land itself, these persons, and hence the manpower to work the land, still belonged to the two families and not the monastery. For the year in which the land was transferred to the monastery, arrangements were made with these families which gave the crops to Bshad–grub–gling. What the monastery would have done for manpower in the following year (1959) is now an academic question.


DWAGS-PO,
'OL-DGA',
AND E
PHAN SDE DGON
BYUR PHU VALLEY
NYI MA GLING
'BRI LUNG
SER SHA THANG
CHA MAL
'OL DGA' STAG RTSE
CHOS 'KHOR RGYAL
ZANGS RI
RTSI NA KHA
RONG
RIN CHEN SGANG
RGYA TSHA RDZONG
RLUNG
MTSHO STOD
RDZAM
SGAM PO
GLANG MDUN
RONG CHU
BKRA SHIS STENG KA
MDA'
BSHAD SGRUB GLING
RAB BTANG
GONG PO
GRO MDA'
DBOR
SNAG RDZONG
LHA GSOL RDZONG
LHA RGYA RI
LNGA 'BRING CHOS SDE
SPYANG KHU STOD
LA ZUR
RKAM SA
KRAL
GRO LUN

NOTES

1 Parts of the present paper are contained in two working papers (1968), presented by Ms. Michal Abrams to the Inner Asia Colloquium, University of Washington, based upon data supplied by me, and in my paper, "The Monastery of Dwags–po Bshad–sgrub–gling," presented at the South Asia Conference, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1983. The facts and figures contained in this paper are only approximate, based as they are upon my own recollections. The author was a monk enrolled in Bshad–grub–gling from 1936–1959, and was the monastery's business agent for many years. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Ms. Abrams, Prof. Ter Ellingson and Dr. Lawrence Epstein. The late Prof. T.V. Wylie translated much of the present material from my original drafts in Tibetan.

2 Blo–gros–brtan–pa acted as abbot (*mkhan–po*), Sgom–chen Ngag–dbang–grags–pa as *dbu–mdzad*, and Rta–ra Chos–'phel as provost (*dge–bskos*).

3 I am grateful to Ter Ellingson for this historical information.

4 Monks in Byes–pa College were not allowed to study or practice tantra until they became *dge–bshes* or *dka'–chen*, except for those rituals containing mantric practice by the monks of Gzhi–pa College. Byes–pa monks wishing to study tantra were required to pass their *dge–bshes* examinations first; they then went to Rgyud–smad in Lhasa.

5 There was an older *bca'–yig*, presumably dating from the time of the Second Dalai Lama. A later one was issued by the Fifth Dalai Lama. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama issued regulations (*sgrig–yig*).

6 1 *khal* = 20 *'bre* = 120 *phul*. The *khal* is a volume measure and its weight therefore varies. Generally a *khal* of barley might weigh between twenty–seven and thirty pounds; of butter between seven and eight pounds. These measures varied between locales. The government maintained standard measures for purposes of tax–collection and so forth.

7 Besides their own *phogs*, another 80 to 100 *khal* of grain for *rtsam–pa* were required annually to meet expenses of the following *gnyer–tshang* functionaries: the *sde–pa*, the *gdong–gnyer*, the estate manager of Rkam–sa, two cooks (*ma–byan*) in the monastery, one cook at the Rkam–sa estate where an assembly hall was maintained, one groom (*rta–rdzi*) at Bshad–grub–gling, and one monk who was designated to take care of other matters, such as meetings with government functionaries like the *rdzong–dpon*. Additionally the *gnyer–tshang* needed about twenty *khal* of grain per year for their horses and *mdzo*.

8 Byes–pa College had a number of branch monasteries (*gzhis–dgon*), without logic colleges of their own, to wit:

Name	Locale	Order
Mnga'–ris	Stod	Dge–lugs–pa
Bkra–shis–bde–chen	'Phyong–rgyas	"

Ri–bo–bde–chen	"	"
Ri–bo–chos–gling	Yar–klungs	"
Chos–'khor Rgyal	Dwags–po	"
Dge–ldan–rab–brtan	"	"
Bam–rin Chos–sde	"	"
Lcang–ra Kha–dog	"	"
Lnga–mchod	Rtsed–thang	"
Bkra–shis–rab–brtan	Kong–po	"
Gdung–dkar	"	"
Rtse–tshogs–pa	Sne–gdong	"
Spyan–g.yas	Yar–klungs	"
Chab–dkar	Sde–mo	"
Chab–nag	"	"
Ri–sgo Chos–sde	E	"
Gdong–dkar Dgon	"	"
Mnga'–bring	"	"
Nang–rgyal	Mnyal	"
Dgon–pa–rtse	Mtsho–sna	"
Mon Rta–dbang	Rta–dbang	"
Rdzing–phyi	'Ol–dga'	"
Nyi–ma–gling	"	"
Phya–dkar	Chos–sde Rong	"
Zangs–chen	Byal–yul	Rnying–ma–pa
Sgam–po (Dwags–po Lha–rje)	Dwags–po	Bka'–brgyud–pa

These establishments were obligated to send monks to Bshad– grub–gling, should the latter request them. Aside from enrolling at will in Byes–pa College, the obligation to send monks was a function of whether or not Bshad–grub–gling's quota of monks was fulfilled. Generally there were already too many monks and the option of "taxing" them (*grwa–khral*, *grwa–chags*) was never exercised in this century. Monks from Bshad–grub–gling who left the monastery to study elsewhere had to remove their names from the monastic rolls (*sgrig–nas 'then*).

In addition to the branch monasteries above, there existed a special relationship with Ba–ru Dgon, a "daughter monastery" (*dgon–lag*). The relationship of Ba–ru Dgon to Bshad–grub–gling originated when the aristocratic family Dwags–po Bhrum–pa donated to Bshad–grub–gling a large area of land (the Bkral valley), which included the land upon which Ba–ru Dgon was located. Bshad–grub–gling helped the tiny monastery (fifteen–eighteen clergy) to repair its buildings and appointed their *las–sde*, an official in charge of the monastery drawn from its own married clergy. This small monastery had its own endowments of land and was supported by the clergies' families.

9 The *shag* was a living unit of two to seven rooms and each *shag* building contained two or three of these units. The *spyi–khang* was a larger building, containing separate units of two or three rooms, which could be occupied singly or shared. The *shag* were sold at fixed prices to the monk occupant, who could resell it when he left. The *spyi–khang* cost nothing.

10 Each year, four monks who had been *dge–bskos* were elevated to *dka'–chen* level.

11 Originally there were seven herds.

Location	Herd Name
Bkral	Khyu–rnying
	Khyu–gsar
	Mdzo–mo
Zur–shag	Khyu–gsar
Rkam–sa Phu	Gnyer–tshang
Dbor	Mdzo–mo
	'Bri

The Gnyer–tshang herd was the only one belonging to that office, but it was managed by the *spyi–bso*. The eighth herd was added later on. When the Dalai Lama returned from Buddhajayanti in 1956, many animals (*g.yag* and *'bri*) were offered to him from the Yangs–pa–can area in Stod–lung. These animals belonged to the Dalai Lama's privy purse (*mdzod–sbug*). Arrangements were made to pasture them under the charge of Bshad–grub–gling's *spyi–bso*. Since they belonged to the privy purse they could be pastured virtually anywhere. Bshad–grub–gling arranged to put them on unused pasture lands near the monastery belonging to Chu–ldings bla–brang and the noble family Tsha–ru–shar. Bshad–grub–gling was responsible for providing a certain percentage of this herd's butter production based on a fixed number of animals (*skyes–med 'chi–med*). There were about one hundred twenty *'bri* and thirty *g.yag* in this herd. The other older herds of *g.yag* and *'bri* contained about one hundred animals each and the herds of *mdzo–mo* and *mdzo* about fifty or sixty animals.

12 E.g., a *khal* of barley in 1936 was three *srang*; twenty years later it was fifty *srang*, a more than 1500% increase.

13 A mule load of tea = twenty–four *sbag*; one *sbag* has four *bzhi–thig*.

14 This varied with the rites. If the ceremony was for Sgrol–ma or Spyan–ras–gzigs, no meat was allowed anyhow; then the soup would be thickened with cheese or *rtsam–pa*.

15 During his tenure, the *spyi–pa* received regular *phogs*. The abbot received six times the regular amount, but he was obliged to take care of his own *gsol–dpon* and the *phyag–mdzod*. When the *phyag–mdzod* was selected he was required to remove his seat cover (*gding–ba*) from the assembly hall. This meant he was no longer enrolled (*sgrig 'then*) in Bshad–grub–gling. He then received double *phogs* from the abbot. Since he was no longer enrolled, he could not receive *phogs* directly from the *gnyer–tshang*. The same was true for the *gsol–dpon*. This was the case, since both of these figures had to conduct normal business, not allowed to regularly enrolled monks. Unlike regular monks, they could also ride a horse, wear shoes during a dharma–session, and so forth.

16 The third–year change of the abbot and treasurer had a direct effect upon the monastic population. While some students entered every year, during these third years many new students enrolled. This was due to the division of the surpluses accumulated by the treasury. Upon entrance, a token silver *ṭam–ka* was paid, and the same amount upon leaving. However,

students entering in these third year periods received an equal share of the newly–divided profits. After a while, they could leave again with a profit, having spent only two *ṭam–ka*.

17 The Dbor estate was given to Bshad–grub–gling by a monk called Dbor–pa Blo–gsal bshes–gnyan.

18 After 1953, the assembly hall here was no longer safe. The Snang dharma–session was then held at Dbor, but the arrangements for the support of the monks remained the same.

19 At Lha–rgya–ri, all of the *rtsam–pa* was overroasted because the *mi–ser* were given barley to roast and to grind into flour by volume. Hence, they overpopped it to create more volume. At Rong Rdzong, the *mi–ser* underpopped the barley because it was given to them to roast and grind by weight. Underroasted barley is heavy and less flavorful.

KARMA-BSTAN-SKYONG AND THE JESUITS

NANCY MOORE GETTELMAN
BELLEVUE, WASHINGTON

In 1642 the Dge-lugs-pa with the aid of Gushri Khan defeated the rival Karma-pa and their ally, the ruler of Dbus-Gtsang, Karma-bstan-skyong. It was then that the Dalai Lama, the "Great Fifth," became temporal and spiritual ruler of that ill-fated country.

Just fifteen years before that turning point in Tibetan history, two Portuguese Jesuits, João Cabral and Estavão Cacella, had been dispatched to Gzhis-kha-rtse (Shigatse), Gtsang's capital, to open a mission. This assignment was a consequence of the hopeful reports of Antonio Andrade, S.J., whose own story warrants a digression.

In 1624, Andrade had gone to Tsa-pa-rang, capital of Gu-ge, in Western Tibet. Encouraged by the local ruler to open a Christian mission there, he returned to Agra for men and supplies, and in 1626 laid the cornerstone of the first Christian church in Tibet. During this second stay in Tsaparang, Andrade learned about "Utsang" from merchants coming from China and suggested it to his Goa superiors as a new mission field. As well, he received a firman and letter of invitation from the King of Dbus-Gtsang in 1627, although there is no evidence to show that the invitation was ever accepted (Wessels 1924: 73).

Andrade was summoned to Goa to become the Jesuits' Provincial in 1629. He learned later that Gu-ge had been taken in 1630 by Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal, the King of Ladakh (Petech 1939: 146), assisted by local monks who had been outraged by the attention given the Christian mission. When Andrade heard this news, he sent Francisco de Azevedo as the Jesuit Visitor to investigate. His success with the King of Ladakh kept the mission going, more or less, until it was closed in 1641 as fruitless. Preparing to return to Tsaparang himself at the end of his Provincial duties, Andrade died suddenly at Goa in 1634.

Andrade had suggested that the route to Dbus-Gtsang should be through Bengal. Consequently, in April 1626, Cacella and Cabral traveled from the Jesuit base at Cochin to Hooghly in Bengal, and thence to Dacca and Cooch Behar on the Brahmaputra waterways, receiving assistance along the way from the many Portuguese commercial settlements in Bengal at the time (Campos 1919: *passim*). After a month's trek up the Duar from Cooch Behar, they arrived at Paro in Bhutan on March 25, 1627.

Both men, the first Europeans in Bhutan — and in Central Tibet and Nepal as well — described their journeys in a letter to their Provincial su-

perior, Father Alberto Laertius, head of the Jesuits at Malabar on the west coast of India. These valuable letters were discovered by Wessels in 1924 in the Jesuit archives in Rome (Wessels 1924: 163). Their experiences up to Bhutan are described at length in Cacella's letter already examined by Wessels, and partially translated by Aris (1979: Pt. 5, No. 4).

It is Cabral's letter, dated June 17, 1628 (Wessels 1924: 333–336), that provides many relevant insights into the personality of the Gtsang ruler, and observations of the political state of affairs in Central Tibet. This article furnishes a fuller background for Cabral's unusually accurate observations in the light of Tibetan historical sources available today.

> In this letter I will account for our move to the Kingdom of Ucangue, ruled by a king called Deba Camba. I will relate everything in brief summary as this is going by the next ship.

Cabral's "Ucangue" is of course Dbus–Gtsang, or Central Tibet, comprising the area south of the Gtsang–po River, with Shigatse as its principal city, and Dbus the area north of the river, with Lhasa as its center. At the time of Cabral's visit, the rulers of Gtsang styled themselves *sde–pa chen–po*, the "Deba Camba" to Cabral's Portuguese ear. This king was Karma–bstan–skyong–dbang–po (1599–1642), incorrectly identified by Petech (1939: 146) as Sde–pa Phun–tshogs–rnam–rgyal, his father.

> We decided to move ahead because we found that all the favors of Lama Rupa, in the zeal of his false sect, were only excuses to hinder us in our intent. We outfitted ourselves for the journey through another Lamba [*bla–ma*], his enemy, whom Father [Cacella] met when he visited a site for the homes and church he [Lama Rupa] promised to build for us. Father used the cooperation of this Lamba who, incidentally, was a subject of the King of Ucangue. For that reason, knowing our intent, he spared nothing to help us on our way. That is to say, he supplied people for guards, food, horses, and all that was necessary for making the journey to Gigaci [Shigatse], the court of this king. The Father arrived after twenty days' journey and was well received by the King and all his people. Immediately, he [the King] sent a man with letters of appreciation to the Lamba, who helped the Father, and other letters also to Lama Rupa in which he asked him to enable me, [saying] that everything to prepare me should also be done at the house of the Lamba, at the cost of the King himself. But the Lama Rupa would not deliver himself of any reply and stood firm in great annoyance, declaring himself our enemy. I tried to appease him with entreaties, but everything was in vain.

Cabral's "Lama Rupa" (possibly his misunderstanding of the pronunciation of "'Brug–pa") is the first king and founder of Bhutan, Ngag–dbang–

rnam-rgyal (1594–?1651). This king (also styled *zhabs-drung*) was a Tibetan monk of the 'Brug-pa order, who had fled to Bhutan in 1616 because of a dispute over the legitimacy of his claim to be the reincarnation of Padma-dkar-po (1527–1592), one of the early embodiments of the 'Brug-pa sect and its greatest scholar (Aris 1979: 205). His rival candidate in Tibet was supported by the Gtsang rulers, and the hostility observed by Cabral was the continuing rivalry between Gtsang and Bhutan caused partly by this contention. In fact, so strong was the tension that Bhutan was invaded three times by Gtsang, the first time shortly after Ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal's arrival in Bhutan; the second only four years after the departure of the Jesuits from Shigatse in 1634; and the third in 1639. All these invasions were at the instigation of five enemy-lama groups and the rulers of Gtsang, supporters of the Zhabs-drung's competitor (Aris *ibid.*: 219–221).

Karma-bstan-skyong, pleased with Cacella's presentation, extended a written invitation and assistance to bring Cabral from Bhutan also. One can conjecture that at about the same time he also sent a firman and a letter to Tsaparang to bring Andrade to his court (Wessels 1924: 73). Was he an open-minded man, interested in many religious viewpoints, or was he trying to appear important with such unusual foreign visitors?

Cabral then continues his account, not indicating how he also managed to escape the Zhabs-drung's displeasure, but one must assume it was through the assistance of the same Gtsang lama at Paro who had helped Cacella two months earlier:

> I left [Paro] on December 18 and arrived January 20, after being detained a few times along the way before arriving in the King's territory. On January 21, next morning, knowing of my arrival, the King sent for us, showing much joy at our arrival in the "vineyard" of his kingdom. The following day we formally explained the reason that moved us to undertake this journey, and he listened with much attention and pleasure. He informed us that we should learn his language well since he wanted to converse with us often about these matters; and in our practice sessions, this was always confirmed. His chief Lamba made a statement in which he said that our Holy Law is the best of them all, and that it is good for everyone to earn the salvation of their souls. Of this statement the King was informed, and he confirmed it.

Cabral was perhaps overly enthusiastic regarding the approval of their "Holy Law" by the Lama of Shigatse. Considering that the translators for the court were very likely Armenian merchants, the missionaries' exposition of Christian doctrine could have emerged to Tibetan ears simply sounding like another sect of Buddhism.

Cabral continues:

> In connection with this, we met two Lamas at the court who were disciples of Lama Rupa and, as it would seem, sent there by him to prevent our staying at that court. They tried to talk to the King personally but not being permitted to do so, they did so through his officials. They also tried to turn all the Lamas in the city — and they are countless — against us, saying that the Fathers were sent only to destroy their pagodas, and were bad people who were going to destroy and blaspheme their Law. Thanks to the goodness of our Lord on this occasion, they did not meet at the court any of the great Lamas who speak with the King. But it got to his hearing enough so that he showed us less enthusiasm at our coming — not in our treatment, which was always the same, but in the graciousness and affability which seemed (and not our imagination) somewhat lessened. We have to thank our Lord that a greater change was not caused, allowing that the King did not know us well, and that he was much afraid of the witchcraft of the Lamas.

Cabral's description of the Bhutanese 'Brug–pa lamas sowing dissension among the monasteries and at the court of Shigatse was quite accurate; for this was the period of growing involvement of the monastic orders in politics, and there was much rivalry between the Sa–skya–pa, Dge–lugs–pa, 'Brug–pa and the Karma–pa.

All the sects had Mongol backing, but none compared with that of the Dge–lugs–pa, whose missionary zeal earned them the Mongol's spiritual allegiance. In 1578, Bsod–nams–rgya–mtsho, the third incarnation of Tsong–kha–pa's nephew, was invited to the Mongol Court where he converted Altan Khan who, in turn, gave him the title "Dalai Lama." Later it was applied retrospectively to his two predecessors. This close Dge–lugs–pa relationship was strengthened militarily when Yon–tan–rgya–mtsho (1589–1616), the Fourth Dalai Lama — the only non–Tibetan Dalai Lama — was discovered to be the great–grandson of Altan Khan.

Involved now in the politics of the day, the Dge–lugs–pa were soon the principal rivals of the dominant Karma–pa whose ally, the King of Gtsang Phun–tshog–rnam–rgyal, secured control over Dbus in 1610. With resultant tension between the two areas, the discovery of the Fifth Dalai Lama was kept secret.

At this time, Karma–pa influence and energy were being impaired by various internal dissensions, including ruptured relations in 1620 between its two main lines, the Black Hats (Zhwa–nag) on one hand, and the Red Hats (Zhwa–dmar), supported by the Phun–tshogs–rnam–rgyal, on the other. These disagreements weakened the moral authority of the Karma–pa and

their material prosperity, which depended on the Gtsang king, was now subject to attrition, due to pro–Dge–lugs–pa Mongol incursions (Richardson 1958: 156). In 1621, when Phun–tshogs–rnam–rgyal died and was succeeded by his son, Karma–bstan–skyong–dbang–po, the situation was temporarily eased, and the Dge–lugs–pa were able to install the Fifth Dalai Lama at 'Bras–spungs monastery in Lhasa without interference from Gtsang (Shakabpa 1967: 102).

Cabral continues, noting his and Cacella's position in having lost some of their royal favor:

> In the days in which that change [in the king's attitude] went on, we gave him our prayers — at which he was much *quadravão* [?] and always responded with a smiling countenance, agreeing with us in everything: that the Lord in his infinite mercy would wish to save him also, that there will be no less favor than we had at the beginning, wherefore, that alone is enough for us to be able to hope for great fruitfulness.

Cabral stayed only ten days in Shigatse, and at the end of January, 1628, leaving Cacella behind, he started back to Hooghly:

> I left in the month of January from the [royal] city of Ucangue and arrived in Golim[1] in April, due to some stops on the way. The reason for my coming [to Golim] was principally to discover this new way through the Kingdom of Nepal to enable ourselves to continue our mission since Cocho [Cooch Behar] was so dangerous and hazardous. I came, also, in order to negotiate a few things for this mission which, as I understand, can be one of the most glorious of this Company of Jesus and the door to all of Tartary, China, and many other kingdoms of the gentiles.[2]

At this point Cabral's letter gives a general description of Karma–bstan–skyong and of Shigatse:

> This King is a youth of twenty–two years, very well educated, fair, very affectionate and, above all, very generous and liberal to the poor. The royal city, as this one of Gigaci [Shigatse], is situated at the foot of a mountain, on top of which is the fortress where the King lives with all his officials and a guard of soldiers. The building and plan are like the ones in Portugal, and the only thing missing is the artillery. The homes inside are all gilded and painted, and the King's quarters are worth seeing, especially the many rooms of curios of all kinds. Because he is a very rich king, the best of everything comes to him. He uses many tapestries in all his apartments. The plainest ones are damask from China. The others can compare with any of the good ones of Portugal. The people who serve him dress very cleanly and can be seen

> everywhere. The common people are a bit more or less [like] what we have written about the people in the first kingdom, which we now know is called the Kingdom of Mon.

Mon had been called "Cambirasi" by Cacella in his earlier letter, possibly a Bengali name for Bhutan. The area traversed by Cacella and Cabral on their route through Paro would have been called Mon, the usual Tibetan name for the area of western Bhutan, south of Yarlung and southwest of Lho–brag (Wylie 1962: 119, n. 511).

Cabral continues:

> The Kingdom, which is named Ucangue, is very large and from whatever direction one enters, it is said it takes at least one–and–a–half months to cross and is so densely populated that in the twenty days that I traveled from the court to the border of the Kingdom of Nepal (which is the new way I went), I always went past and through villages. The climate is cold, and in January and February I crossed many frozen rivers on horseback. However, the snow is not excessive. They have great fields of wheat, and I never saw land that looked more like the Alemtejo in Portugal. To the north it borders with the Tartars, with whom this King is sometimes at war. There are many who say that their Law [religion] is the same as here.

Karma–bstan–skyong had just become ruler at the age of sixteen (1621), when Mongol troops, Buddhist converts of the Dge–lugs–pa, descended into Dbus to attack two Gtsang camps. The King and his 10,000 troops, now worn out, were ready to surrender when Dge–lugs–pa leaders intervened, preventing certain massacre. For this the Dge–lugs–pa got back their monasteries, forced earlier to become Karma–pa, as well as being assured that Tibet's only armed force was not annihilated, in case of invasion by the Mongols (Tucci 1949: 58).

Cabral continues describing his journey through Dbus–Gtsang to Nepal:

> Towards the east is Cochinchina, from where a lot of merchandise comes, as well as from China, which lies to the northeast. The two latter countries border on the Kingdom of Cam [Khams], from where the musk comes. Xembala [Shambala], as far as I am concerned, is not Catayo [China] but the kingdom that our maps call Grand Tartarea, lying more to the north.
>
> In this Kingdom of Ucangue are all the heads of the castes [sects] of Lambas, and for this reason they call it the school of their Law. Their monasteries (here they are called Combas) are not like ours, but each Chief Lama has his city where he resides with only his Lambas. The Comba [*dgon–pa*] of the Cha-

> parangue Lama is on a slope of this fortress at a distance of about two cannon shots.

The monastery described is Tashilhunpo (Bkra–shis–lhun–po), founded in 1447 by Bsod–nams–rgya–mtsho, where monks from Tsaparang in Western Tibet would have resided while studying. The custom of all large Tibetan monasteries was to have "colleges" in which monks from a certain district lived together (Tucci *ibid*: 63).

Cabral continues:

> Because of it [Tashilhunpo], each day we receive news of the priests who are living about a month's journey from here.[3] The King does not pay any attention to these Lamas, claiming that they belong to a bad caste [Dge–lugs–pa]. The Chief Lambas are treated almost like kings and among them, Lama Rupa, about whom we have written so much, is about the fifth in importance, by which Your Reverence can judge what the others will be.

It is interesting that in his short stay Cabral had learned of the different monastic orders and that their heads had ranks of power both politically and spiritually. Sa–skya–pa had given way to Karma–pa, the 'Brug–pa Bka'–brgyud–pa were dominant in Bhutan, and now Dge–lugs–pa were competing with the Karma–pa. Their "importance" was both political and spiritual.

> But they [the Lamas] are held to be so great that none of them attends upon the King. The law and the sect in these kingdoms, I now conclude, is gentile, because they say they are, and I have found that they have the same pagodas as the Kingdom of Nepal and some of Bengal. Only in the superstition of castes and eating habits, which they do not hold, are they different.
>
> About Catayo [China], the more we know about that land, the less we know about it. A Lamba of the King told us only that there is a land called "Cata," whose Law he did not know for certain, but which he had heard was an ancient Law, different from the ones in these kingdoms. And the way to that kingdom, he said, was by Coscar [Kashgar], a well–known city, and that agrees with the information from Father Hieronimo [Jerome] Xavier, in which he speaks of this same city.
>
> This is what I can say right now to Your Reverence about this mission, from which it can be well–seen what great effects can ensue with our Lord giving us a foot in this Kingdom of Ucangue, wherefore, not only in this as I have described, but also a door to all the greater kingdoms that follow it. It remains for us to request Your Reverence to recommend us greatly to our Lord that the prayers of His servants may overcome our defects and that He bestow His blessing on what is planted and emerging.

> The road to these kingdoms is not through Cocho [Cooch Behar], but through Nepal, which borders on the lands of Mogor [the Portuguese name for Hindustan]. In Patana and Rajamol the road is safe, frequented by many merchants.
>
> The King [of Gtsang] gave me a captain to conduct me to Nepal with letters and presents for the King of Nepal, asking him to help me in everything which he asked, since I was a person whom he respected greatly.

Which king of Nepal Cabral refers to cannot be specified as the Kathmandu Valley was divided into three Malla kingdoms at that time. The man who assisted Cabral could have been either Laksminarasimha of Kathmandu (1620–1641), Jagajjyotir of Bhatgaon (1613–1637), or Siddhinarasimha of Patan (1620–1661) (Regmi 1966: 55, 215, 268).

> The King of Nepal complied with the request and helped me as far as Patana, where I found the Portuguese with whom I traveled to Golim [Hooghly], from where I am writing this to Your Reverence.
>
> About the Kingdom of Nepal I shall write to you at greater length later on as I hope to receive some news from Father Cacella about further happenings, which I shall transmit to Your Reverence. I commend myself and us to Your Reverence's Holy Sacrifices.

Cacella remained in Shigatse for one–and–a–half years before going to Bihar in June 1629 for two months. In September he returned to Shigatse, starting from Cooch Behar, but was so ill upon his arrival that he died a week later (March 6, 1630) without seeing Karma–bstan–skyong again. According to later accounts, the King expressed sorrow and regret at Cacella's death, sending word to Cabral at Hooghly urging him to return, which he did in 1631. In 1632, Cabral was back in Hooghly when it was sacked by Shah Jahan, and later he served in Cochin, Japan, Malacca, and Macao. He died at Goa on July 4, 1669 (Wessels 1924: 159).

Karma–bstan–skyong's struggles increased. In addition to his continuing enmity with Bhutan, he had to contend with the growing Dge–lugs–pa influence in Dbus. In the west, after Seng–ge–rnam–rgyal, king of Ladakh, took Gu–ge in 1630, there were problems over the ill–defined border of Gtsang. This resulted in Seng–ge–rnam–rgyal's march into Central Tibet (Petech 1966: 146–147). At the same time, Gushri Khan, strong supporter of the Dge–lugs–pa and the "Great Fifth," marched on Central Tibet. Karma–bstan–skyong was defeated at Shigatse in 1642, imprisoned, and put to death at Lhasa. Gtsang power had given way to Lhasa, and the Dalai Lamas continued paramount until 1959.

NOTES

1 "Golim" is simply the earlier Portuguese name for Hooghly (Campos 1919: 64–65).

2 "Gentile" was the European term used at this period to designate anyone who was not a Muslim or Christian or, in other words, one who did not hold a monotheistic religion.

3 Cabral is referring to Father Andrade, who was living in Tsa–pa–rang in 1627.

KAWAGUCHI EKAI: A PIOUS ADVENTURER AND TIBET[1]

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Introduction

As a student of *Religionswissenschaft*, I have been fascinated by the fact that the history of various religions is dotted with a variety of remarkable religious figures — founders, saints, prophets, kings, seers, mystics, seekers, and missionaries.[2] There are also those who, for lack of a better category, might be characterized as "pious adventurers": those who left their familiar surroundings for uncharted foreign lands for the propagation of the faith or in search of truth. Although *Religionswissenschaft*, known in the English-speaking world as the history of religions, has been duly concerned with other types of religious figures, it has yet to give sufficient attention to this type of pious adventurer, whose activities often altered the history and geography of various religions. It is intriguing to ask, for example, what motivated a Hsüan–tsang or an apostle Paul to risk his life in alien lands searching for Dharma or evangelizing Gentiles and how he managed to execute his objectives. But if we wish to avoid an overly superficial evaluation of the activities of such men and women, we should study many individual cases before venturing general statements about the common characteristics they share. With this much in mind, I intend to portray briefly the life and activities of Kawaguchi Ekai and to assess his impact as one such "pious adventurer" in Tibet.

Historically, Japan knew nothing about Tibet except its name and its general geographical location. The national seclusion policy of the pre–modern Tokugawa regime (1603–1867) successfully kept Japan unaware of Chinese–Tibetan relations: of China's forced annexation of Tibet in the 1720's, the anti–Chinese uprising in Lhasa in 1750, or the Chinese military expedition into Tibet which led to the appointment of *ambans* (Chinese representatives in Lhasa, who not only oversaw the policies of the Dalai Lama but who also influenced the choice of his successor). Japan likewise had no way of knowing that the Nepalese Gurkhas had invaded Tibet and pillaged the seat of the Panchen Lama in 1791, which precipitated a Chinese counterattack against Gurkha forces in the following year. Japanese leaders were aware, however, that China had lost her prestige and power in the first war with Britain (1839–1842) and that Britain, Russia and other European powers were moving into East Asia; but they were too occupied with Japan's own problems to pay any attention to events on China's borders.

Neither did Europeans give much heed to Tibet until the eighteenth century. To be sure, as early as the fourteenth century, when the Mongol dynasty

ruled much of Asia, including China and Tibet, the Franciscan friar Odoric of Pordenone travelled to various parts of China and even ventured into Tibetan territory.[3] We also know that in 1661 two Jesuits, Johann Grueber and Albert d'Orville, travelled from Peking to Nepal via Lhasa; that in the early eighteenth century, four Franciscan friars and a Jesuit, Ippolito Desideri, settled in Lhasa; and that several other missionaries managed to enter Tibet as well. Also in the eighteenth century, two colonial powers, the British from the south and the Russians from the north, began to make political overtures. Warren Hastings, then Viceroy of British India, dispatched two commissioners, George Bogle and Samuel Turner, to Tibet in 1774 and 1781, respectively, but neither one succeeded in reaching Lhasa. In 1811, an English explorer, Thomas Manning, travelled to Lhasa by way of Bhutan and even secured an audience with the Dalai Lama. Shortly afterward, an Indian of Mongolian origin, Nain Sing, visited Tibet and determined the latitude and longitude of Lhasa; and in 1846, two missionaries, E.R. Hüc and J. Gabet, journeyed there as well. Meanwhile, Czarist Russia, which was pressing into East Asia, attempted to send Colonel Prejevalsky to Tibet in 1871, but the military man's repeated forays into the country were consistently blocked at the border. Russia, however, continued to befriend Lamaist authorities with a measure of success, thanks to certain pro–Russian Mongolian Lamas, notably the Buriat Lama Dorje, or Dorjieff, who became the Dalai Lama's confidante around the turn of the century.

In 1881 and again in 1882, the British sent Sarat Chandra Das into Tibet disguised as a Sikkimese priest (see Das 1902.). Learning of Das's true mission when the latter returned to India, the Lamaist authorities took stern measures against those Tibetans who had innocently helped Das and reinforced the borders against all foreigners. These measures account for much of the difficulty experienced by Kawaguchi and others who attempted to enter Tibet thereafter (Kawaguchi 1909: 516).

In Japan, the Higashi (East) Honganji, which had begun religious and educational missions in 1876 in Shanghai and Peking, made overtures to Tibet by way of certain Mongolian and Tibetan Lamas in Peking sympathetic to its cause.[4]

In 1899, two scholars of the Higashi Honganji, Nōmi Hiroshi and Teramoto Enga, travelled the Yangtze River by boat as far as Patung, where they negotiated for two months with Lamaist officials. Their attempt to enter the country failed, although Teramoto managed to visit Lhasa in 1905.

In light of the almost insurmountable difficulties in entering Tibet, even for those who had powerful support, it is all the more surprising that so unknown an individual as Kawaguchi Ekai was able to smuggle himself into the "forbidden land" in 1900.

His Life and Time[5]

Two years after Kawaguchi Ekai's birth, the Tokugawa feudal regime toppled and the Meiji imperial regime assumed rule of the nation. The objectives of the new regime appeared contradictory. On the one hand, Western knowledge and technologies were welcomed in order to reshape Japan into a modern nation-state with financial prosperity and a strong defense (*fukoku-kyōhei*). The regime also removed the historic edict against Christianity, thus allowing foreign Christian missionaries to engage in evangelistic, educational, and philanthropic activities. On the other hand, the new regime dissolved the age-old patterns of a Shinto-Buddhist amalgam (*Shin-Butsu-shūgo*) in favor of a newly formed State Shinto in order to restore the ancient tradition of the unity of religion and state (*saisei-itchi*), which unwittingly precipitated among the citizenry a popular anti-Buddhist (*haibutsu-kishaku*) movement.[6] Thus robbed of its feudal privileges and confronted by the massive impact of Western civilization, the prestige of Buddhism reached low ebb; but still there remained a number of enlightened Buddhist leaders with the courage and foresight to guide the destiny of Buddhism through a trying situation. As early as 1873, the Nishi (West) Honganji sent several scholars abroad, among them Shimaji Mokuri, to observe the religious situation in the West and in India. In late 1876, recognizing the importance of Western scholarship in philological, historical, and philosophical studies of Buddhism, the Higashi Honganji sent Nanjō Bunyū and Kasahara Kenju to study Sanskrit under F. Max Müller at Oxford. Later, the Nishi Honganji sent Kitabatake Dōryū (1881) and Fujishima Ryōon (1882) to Europe. In 1886, Shaku Kōzen went to Ceylon to study Pali; and in 1890, Takakusu Junjirō was sent to England, France, and Germany to study Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian. Thus the vista of Japanese Buddhists, who had only known Chinese Buddhism since its introduction to Japan in the sixth century, was greatly broadened and a number of Buddhist scholars began to visit not only China but also India, Ceylon, Thailand and Mongolia. In the early 1890's, several Japanese Buddhists expressed interest in Tibetan Buddhism, but at the time, Tibet was not open to them.

Kawaguchi Ekai, whose given name was Sadajirō, was born only a decade after Commodore Matthew Perry and his four American "Black Ships" forced open Japan's door to foreign contacts. His life spanned eight decades during the period of Japan's modernization, a period marked by such events as the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) and the two World Wars. The Kawaguchis were a mercantile family engaged in the manufacturing and marketing of barrels in the port city of Sakai near Osaka, a renowned trade center in Japan for centuries. The oldest son, young Kawaguchi, was expected to inherit the family business, but he aspired even in his youth to follow the path of Buddha. There was nothing extraordinary about Kawaguchi's early life. He was compelled to terminate his formal

education at age twelve to help with the family business, but he continued to study the Chinese classics, mathematics, and calligraphy at night school. Profoundly impressed by the life of the Buddha, which he read when he was fifteen, he resolved to avoid liquor and animal food and to remain celibate. He spent three months of his nineteenth year in a Zen temple in Osaka and the next year studied English and Christianity with an American missionary in his native Sakai. After a brief period of study at Dōshisha University in Kyoto, lack of funds forced him to leave; he became a grammar school teacher in Sakai. When he publicly accused the principal of that school of corruption, however, he lost the job. Finally, at age twenty–three, he went to Tokyo and supported himself at odd jobs while attending Tetsugakkan (the present–day Tōyō University), which had produced a number of Buddhist scholars and reformers. His interest in Buddhism deepened, and he secured his parents' consent to enter the priesthood, becoming ordained in 1890. He was appointed abbot of Gohyaku–rakan–ji ("Temple of Five Hundred Arhats") in Tokyo, a temple of the Ōbaku Zen tradition introduced in Japan in the mid–seventeenth century by Yin–yüan (Ingen in Japanese). The young abbot was quickly disillusioned by the political intrigue and corruption that infested the Ōbaku sect and asked to be laicized, although he continued to take part in the sect's reform activities. In 1892, friends persuaded him to return to the priesthood to help reform the sect from within, but with reform measures only partially completed, he decided to devote himself full time to the study of the Chinese Tripiṭaka.

Kawaguchi's studies of the Chinese scriptures was influenced by his disillusionment with institutional Buddhism and his determination to discover for himself the truth of Buddhism within the Tripiṭaka; but he soon grew frustrated at the inconsistencies and discrepancies among the various Chinese translations of what he thought were the same Indian texts.[7] In 1892, he chanced to come across a statement of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös to the effect that the Tibetan scriptures were the most faithful translations of the Indian Buddhist texts and that most of them were safely preserved in Tibet. He also learned that a British official, B.C. Hodgson, had collected a large number of Sanskrit Buddhist texts in Nepal. Kawaguchi began to wonder how he could possibly visit Nepal and Tibet (Kawaguchi 1933: 483–484).

His Tibetan Adventures: First Phase[8]

In 1897, Kawaguchi, now thirty–two, without institutional support and discouraged by his friends, embarked on the lonely journey to Tibet. Arriving in Calcutta, he was advised by Chandra Bose of the Mahabodhi Society to go to Darjeeling in order to meet Sarat Chandra Das, who had lived for several months in Tibet. Through Das, Kawaguchi met a Mongolian priest, Serab Gyamtso. He lived with Lama Shabdung's family and studied Tibetan under the headmaster of the government school, Tumi Orden. Also during

his stay in Darjeeling, one Jibbahadur (or Jibbhadra), a Nepalese official who had earlier lived in Lhasa, bargained for Kawaguchi's copy of Csoma's Tibetan–English dictionary, giving him in return two letters of introduction, one addressed to a Nepalese official at the Indian border and a second addressed to Buddha Vajra, the head Lama of the Great Tower of Mahabodha.

Early in 1899, Kawaguchi returned briefly to Calcutta and, after visiting Bodhgaya, travelled to Sagauli near the Nepalese border, where by chance he met Buddha Vajra himself. From there the two men journeyed together across the border at Beelganji. Posing as a Chinese monk, Kawaguchi accompanied Buddha Vajra — whom people affectionately called "Gya (*rgya* 'Chinese') Lama" because the latter's father was Chinese — to Buddha Vajra's temple, the great Kāśyapa Tower, in Kathmandu. There Kawaguchi talked to a number of pilgrims from Tibet and soon plotted a course through northwest Nepal over the mountains. He would travel under the pretext of visiting the sacred mountain of Kailash, situated near Lakes Manosarovara and Anavatapta. After a month of hazardous travel, he reached Tukje, where he stayed as a guest of the local governor. While there, he met an erudite but temperamental Mongolian Lama, Serab Gyaltsan, who was also an accomplished physician. Kawaguchi accepted Serab Gyaltsan's invitation to accompany him to his home in Tsarang, a small Himalayan village in the province of Lo, where he stayed for ten months studying Tibetan Buddhism, rhetoric and other Tibetan sciences. Under Serab Gyaltsan, he also practiced mountain climbing and even developed a reputation as an effective and generous physician among the villagers.

In a real sense, Tsarang was the training ground for Kawaguchi's Tibetan adventure. He writes rhapsodically about the natural beauty of this Himalayan village, describing in summer

> a buoyant army of butterflies, that flutter up and down, keeping time, as it were, to the stirring melody of sky–larks, which is now and then softened by the clear notes of a cuckoo, while the fields below are resonant with the rustic melodies of joyous damsels, and that *tout ensemble* becomes at once enchanting as it is archaic...
>
> (Kawaguchi 1909: 58)

Yet he was also exposed to the seamier side of Himalayan life and accordingly had to learn "the art of living amidst filth and filthy habit" (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 52). Coming as he did from a country that venerates cleanliness, Kawaguchi was taken aback by the unhygienic habits of the villagers. Moreover, he detested the moral filth tolerated by the "Old Transition School" of Padmasambhava. Of the two hundred–fifty villagers he found in Tsarang, about sixty were male Lamas and fifty were nuns. Of those, only two Lamas and one nun practiced celibacy, and most publicly imbibed liquor and ate meat (Kawaguchi 1967: 57ff.). A strict observer of ancient discipline himself,

Kawaguchi was extremely critical of the tradition of Padmasambhava, whose teaching, according to him (Kawaguchi), was a "sort of parody on Buddhism proper and an attempt to sanctify the sexual relations of humankind, explaining and interpreting all the important passages and tenets in the sacred Text from a sensual standpoint" (Kawaguchi 1909: 53). Kawaguchi also grieved for Serab Gyaltsan, who had received after twenty years the coveted doctorate from the monastery of Sera, Lhasa, but who had "afterwards yielded to feminine temptation, lost his qualification to go back to Mongolia," and was thus doomed to pass life in obscure seclusion (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 54).

In March of 1900, Kawaguchi left Tsarang upon the invitation of Adam Naring, chief of the village of Malba, to visit his home and read a set of Tibetan texts. His pleasant three–month stay in Malba was marred by a rumor circulated by a merchant from Darjeeling to the effect that Kawaguchi, who had continued all this time to pose as a Chinese monk, might be a British agent. Kawaguchi was forced to confide his true identity to Naring. On June 12, he left Malba for Dhavalagiri with a hired guide–porter, trekked along the river Kaliganga, then started a tortuous ascent past the snow–bound village of Sanda to the village of Thorpo, which was inhabited by adherents of the Bon religion. On July 1, he sent his faithful guide–porter away and started climbing alone, carrying his books and luggage himself. He comments:

> I had to push my way over the trackless field of deep snow, with a solitary compass and a mountain peak as my only guides. One night I slept on the snow under the sky, and another I passed in the hollow of a cliff; three days jogging...brought me across to the other side of the northern peak of the Dhavalagiri. It is here that the dominion of Nepal ends.
>
> (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 74)

His Tibetan Adventures: Second Phase

Kawaguchi notes in his diary that on July 4, 1900, almost three years from the day he left Japan, he stepped into snow–covered Tibet with welling emotions: "How could I prevent myself from being transported with mingled feelings of joy, gratitude and hope? But I was tired and hungry" (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 76). Fortified by some dough made from flour, snow and butter, he continued wading through the snow, descending on Lake Manasarovara. On his way he visited the saintly Lama Gelong Rinpoche in his holy cave. Once he fell into a river and nearly drowned. He suffered from the rarified atmosphere and frequent attacks of rheumatism. Still, inspired by the wonders of nature's *maṇḍala*, he finally reached Lake Manasarovara on August 6. From there he visited the two barter ports of Gya–nima and Gya–karko, where he watched brisk transactions between Tibetans and Hindus. He encountered a young Tibetan maiden, the daughter of his travelling companion,

who fell in love with him and tried to persuade him to marry her. (He resisted this temptation by recalling the example of the Buddha, who before his Enlightenment had rebuffed allurements from the three daughters of the King of the Devils.) Then one day on the road to Lhasa, he witnessed a burly highwayman worshiping a snowy mountain and repeating aloud not only his many past offenses but also asking immunity for any crimes he might commit in the future. Kawaguchi was told that this convenient mode of repentance was universal in some parts of Tibet (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 173–174). Three armed highwaymen soon appeared as though to illustrate the point and asked him to divine the location of any rich traders in the area. A few days later, Kawaguchi himself became the victim of robbers, losing almost everything except a small silver pagoda "containing relics of Buddha, which Mr. Dhammapala of India has asked [me] to present to the Dalai Lama." After robbing him, the highwaymen asked Kawaguchi to place the silver pagoda on their heads with his benediction (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 194).

An eye ailment and dog bites, among other things, hindered Kawaguchi's progress. Early in November, though, he crossed the steep Kur La Pass and travelled through the post towns of Gyato Tazam and Sang Sang Tazam, the Senge Rong Valley, and the towns of Lhartse and Rendah before reaching the imposing Sakya Monastery. Much to his surprise, the Abbot of the temple, Sakya Kongma Rinpoche, a descendent of Sakya Paṇḍita, was a married layman (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 244). Kawaguchi found the homosexual relationship between the "great instructor" of the temple, Chamba Pasang Tingle, and a young boy deplorable. "At first," he wrote, "I had intended to stay and study at the temple for at least two weeks, but after this discovery I was now loath to remain with such a degenerate priest" (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 245).

On December 5, 1900, Kawaguchi arrived in Shigatse, the second capital of Tibet, a city dominated by the gold–colored roof of the Tashilhunpo Temple and the seat of the Panchen Lama. Kawaguchi stayed in this great temple and tried to study with a venerable old priest reputed to be an authority on Tibetan grammar, but he was greatly disappointed by the priest's limited knowledge. He lamented that "very few — I will almost say, no — Tibetans are proficient" in the five branches of science (phonetics, medicine, logic, engineering and religious science and philosophy) or "even in one of them" (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 251). Nevertheless, he was greatly impressed by the colorful procession of the Panchen Lama in Shigatse.

From Shigatse, Kawaguchi travelled to Rong Ramba, where he remained from mid–January until mid–March, 1902, as the houseguest of Dorje Gyalpo, whose son Kawaguchi had once cured. Kawaguchi left on March 14 and finally reached Lhasa on March 21, 1902.

Posing as a Tibetan priest, Kawaguchi arrived in Lhasa and was admitted to the dormitory of Pedug Khamtsan of the Sera College. Sera College had three divisions: the first housed 3800 priests; the second, 1500; and the third, 500 (Kawaguchi 1967: 235). There were two classes of priests in Lhasa: scholar–priests, who spent some twenty years in study; and warrior–priests, who served the scholar–priests, maintained the monastery, and practiced martial arts. Although the warrior–priests could be quarrelsome, Kawaguchi writes, "They scarcely ever fight for a pecuniary matter, but the beauty of young boys presents an exciting cause, and the theft of a boy will often lead to a duel" (Kawaguchi 1909: 292).

Kawaguchi passed the entrance examination and was formally admitted to Sera College. He learned that most priests engaged in professions outside the priesthood — trade, agriculture, cattle–breeding, the manufacture of Buddhist articles — or in the crafts of tailor, mason, cobbler and stone–layer; and that the gap between the rich and the poor among the priests was very wide indeed. By his own admission, Kawaguchi had only a rudimentary knowledge of medicine; but he was eminently successful as a physician and was well–treated especially by the warrior priests. Although he declined to serve as the Dalai Lama's attending physician, his reputation earned him invitations to the Dalai Lama's residence and to the home of the ex–Minister of the Treasury, also a scholar and an experienced diplomat. "His only fault," according to Kawaguchi, "was his living with the nun. While talking with me, they often repented with tears of the folly they had committed with each other when young" (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 333). Through the hospitality of his benefactor, Kawaguchi enjoyed the privilege of studying under the ex–Minister's half–brother, the Ganden Ti (Khri) Rinpoche, the highest–ranking priest in Tibet. No one influenced Kawaguchi's understanding of Buddhism so much as did Ti Rinpoche.

One day Kawaguchi unwittingly walked into the store of Tsa Rong–ba, a merchant whom he had known in Darjeeling. Tsa Rong–ba could hardly believe that the famous "doctor (*em–ci*) of Sera" was his old friend and immediately — and often thereafter — invited Kawaguchi to his home. It was at Tsa Rong–ba's home that Kawaguchi happened to meet the Dalai Lama's caravan chief, who had known Kawaguchi before. The caravan chief admired Kawaguchi and, thinking he might do the latter a service by disclosing his true identity, went to the Dalai Lama's elder brother, who promptly concluded that Kawaguchi was a Japanese spy. Upon learning that he was in danger, Kawaguchi hastily bade farewell to his friends and left Tibet. At the very moment he was leaving, the Panchen Lama arrived in Lhasa to receive investiture from the Dalai Lama; and Kawaguchi, happily, was able to steal out of Lhasa undetected in the midst of the joyous festivities on May 29, 1902 (Kawaguchi 1967: 324–331).

From the mountain top of Genpala, Kawaguchi looked back and saluted the Dalai Lama's palace in the distance. Two days later, travelling southward, he passed the city of Gyantse and crossed the river Tsangchu. He safely passed the five guardhouses, thanks in part to his reputation as a renowned physician, and crossed the border into British India over a snow-covered mountain peak near the fortress of Nyatong. On June 19, he reached Kalimpong and on July 3, 1903, he arrived at the home of his old friend, Sarat Chandra Das, in Darjeeling, whence his eventful hegira had begun (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 376).

His Tibetan Adventures: Third Phase

Physical and mental exhaustion forced Kawaguchi to recuperate for three months after his return to Darjeeling. During this time, he learned to his horror that an official at Nyatong had reported back to Lhasa that he was not only a British spy but also an expert magician capable of flying over a carefully watched guardhouse. Obviously the official had written the report in order to cover up his negligence. Nevertheless, such a report confirmed the suspicions of Lamaist authorities that Kawaguchi must have been sent by the British or the Japanese, who were allies of the British in Asia. What distressed Kawaguchi the most, however, was the report that his benefactors in Lhasa — the ex-Minister of the Treasury and his wife, Tsa Rong-ba and his wife, and his teachers at the Sera College — were imprisoned and tortured because of their association with him. Determined to do what he could to counter the false accusations, he decided to ask the Nepalese authorities, who were respected and feared by the Tibetans, to intercede on his behalf (Kawaguchi 1961: 94–96).

Kawaguchi himself left Darjeeling for Calcutta, where he met with visiting Buddhist dignitaries from Japan. Unanimously opposed to his plan to take a risky trip to Nepal, they urged him to return to Japan, but he was resolute:

> I am a servant of Buddha, and my duty is to save anyone from misery.... But here are a great many men, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude...[and] they are suffering in jail.... Knowing them to be in such a condition, how should I abandon them, and start home, even though my life is very precious to me?
>
> (Kawaguchi 1909: 681)

With a letter of introduction to the king of Nepal from Professor Kadarnath Chatterji, a Bengali who knew the king well from his days as principal of the municipal school in Kathmandu, Kawaguchi took a train to Rexal and then proceeded to Beelganji. Fortuitously, the king and the Prime Minister were just then passing through Beelganji on their way from Delhi. Chatterji's letter enabled Kawaguchi to gain audience with the Prime Minister Chandra Shamsir (actually the *de facto* ruler) and the king, and allowed

him to travel with the royal party to the capital. There he enjoyed a reunion with his Nepalese benefactor Buddha Vajra.

The Nepalese authorities were understandably suspicious of Kawaguchi's motives for his current trip when they discovered that he had previously travelled through Nepal in disguise. But Kawaguchi managed to convince them that he was a genuine seeker of Buddhist truth. His request that the king of Nepal forward his letter to the Dalai Lama explaining what he had done in Tibet and petitioning the Dalai Lama to release his benefactors from jail was granted. At the same time, Kawaguchi secured royal assurance that a complete collection of the Sanskrit texts of Buddhist scriptures in Nepal would be given him, and he promised in return a set of the Japanese Buddhist texts to be delivered within two years' time. He received the scriptures from the Prime Minister on March 12 and left the Nepalese capital on March 16. He arrived in Calcutta on April 22, left on April 24, and returned to his homeland on May 20, 1903, with a grateful heart (Kawaguchi 1961: 107–109).

His Second Trip to India, Nepal and Tibet (1904–1915)

Upon his return to Japan in 1903, Kawaguchi was welcomed as a celebrity and was in great demand to write and lecture on his Tibetan adventures and to hold exhibits of the artifacts — scriptures, statues, paintings and ornaments — he had brought home. When he announced his determination to fulfill his promise to present the Buddhist scriptures from Japan to the king of Nepal and to pursue further study in India and the Himalayan countries, a group of prominent persons offered to support him (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 118–121). Little did he realize that he would be away from Japan for more than ten years or that this second journey would prove so eventful.

In response to Tibet's act of provocation in April of 1903, British India sent out expeditionary forces which reached Lhasa the following summer. Manipulated by the pro–Russian Senior Premier Shatra and Lama Dorje, the Dalai Lama — so rumor had it — planned to take refuge in Russia. He did in fact proceed as far as Mongolia (Kawaguchi 1909: 493–508); but the Russo–Japanese War, which broke out in February, 1904, prevented Russia from receiving him. The Dalai Lama was allowed, then, to stay at Mt. Wu-t'ai in Northern China. After the Dalai Lama's escape, Teramoto Enga, a scholar of the Higashi Honganji who had earlier failed to enter Tibet with his colleague Nōmi Hiroshi, joined a pilgrimage of Lamas from the temple of Kumbum, Sining, in the province of Kansu. His party reached Lhasa in May, 1905. Between 1906 and 1908, the year the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa, Teramoto acted as unofficial liaison for the Dalai Lama and the Chinese [Manchu] court, Japanese officials and the Higashi Honganji. Evidently Teramoto was also well acquainted with Dorje and his disciples.[9]

In August, 1904, Kawaguchi received a letter from Colonel W.F. O'Connor, the staff officer of the British expeditionary forces to Tibet, informing

him that Kawaguchi's mentor at Lhasa, Ganden Ti Rinpoche, had become the acting head of Tibet in the absence of the Dalai Lama and that all of his benefactors had been released from prison. With a happy heart Kawaguchi left Japan for Calcutta in December of that year to be the guest of the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore, at the latter's home in Shantiniketan (Kawaguchi 1961: 121). When the promised Buddhist scriptures arrived with his baggage from Japan, Kawaguchi travelled to Kathmandu in March of 1905 to present his gift to Prime Minister Chandra Shamsir, who in turn presented Kawaguchi with additional Nepalese Buddhist texts. Kawaguchi returned to Calcutta in December where he met the Panchen Lama, who heartily endorsed a proposal of Kawaguchi's for an exchange of Buddhist scriptures between Tibet and Japan. Kawaguchi then joined the Panchen Lama and the king of Sikkim in publicizing the need for a restoration of the Buddha–gaya, one of the most sacred Buddhist sites (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 126–127).

In November of 1908, the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa following the strangely coincidental deaths of the Kuang–hsü Emperor — many suspected foul play — and the powerful Empress Dowager Tz'u–hsi. Taking advantage of the political instability in China due to both a power struggle within the ruling house and widespread revolutionary sentiments, the Dalai Lama plotted to declare Tibet's independence from Manchu rule. Aware of the Tibetan ruler's scheme, the Chinese authorities sent troops to Tibet, forcing the Dalai Lama to flee Lhasa once again, this time to Darjeeling and British protection. Hearing that the Dalai Lama had left Tibet, the enterprising patriarch of the Nishi Honganji, Ōtani Kōzui, thought he would capitalize on the Dalai Lama's exile by sending his emissary, Aoki Bunkyō, to Darjeeling to meet the Dalai Lama and to negotiate an exchange of scholars between Lhasa and the Nishi Honganji (Aoki 1969: 33). Kawaguchi, too, was cordially received by the Dalai Lama in 1909. Finally, owing to the Chinese revolution of 1911, China's hold on Tibet began to weaken. With the help of British supplies, the Tibetans were able to defeat Chinese forces there, and the Dalai Lama and his party returned to Tibet in June of 1912. Since the British would not allow any foreigner into Tibet, Kawaguchi waited in India, biding his time and studying Sanskrit. Receiving assurances that the Panchen Lama was ready to offer him a set of Tibetan scriptures, he left Calcutta in December, 1913, taking the least travelled road through Sikkim along the eastern side of Mt. Kanchenjunga, and crossed the border, this time posing as a Tibetan. He was briefly detained by officials at Khamba, but by displaying the Panchen Lama's letter was allowed to travel to Shigatse. Heavy snows delayed his luggage and the Buddhist scriptures to be presented to the Panchen Lama; but with the help of Tibetan authorities, the scriptures were brought to Shigatse and Kawaguchi presented them to the Panchen Lama (Kawaguchi 1961: 135–142).

In July, 1914, Kawaguchi left for Lhasa, collecting on the way, as was his custom, specimens of flora, fossil shells and insects.[10] (His collections were later donated to the University of Tokyo, the Botanical Garden of Tokyo and other institutions.) Kawaguchi soon reunited with his former benefactors, notably with those who had been imprisoned on his account. He found that the city of Lhasa had been modernized during the intervening years. He was granted an audience with the Dalai Lama, who agreed to present a set of Tibetan Buddhist scriptures to the University of Tokyo. He was also delighted to meet his compatriots, two priests from the Nishi Honganji, Aoki Bunkyō and Tada Tōkan, and Yajima Yasujirō, who was serving as military instructor to the Dalai Lama's guards. In January, 1915, he visited the Dalai Lama again before leaving Lhasa for Shigatse and, eventually for Darjeeling. In August, armed with scriptures from the Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama, and accompanied by Sarat Chandra Das and his son, Kawaguchi left Calcutta, arriving in Kobe in early September (Kawaguchi 1961: 148–151).

His Last Thirty Years, 1915–1945

What do pious adventurers do with their lives after they accomplish — if they accomplish — their objectives? There are no set patterns to provide an answer to this question. Kawaguchi followed three major agenda: (1) he translated and disseminated information on the Tibetan language, its form of Buddhism, and its art and culture; (2) he promoted the Buddhist faith; and (3) he pursued his own path of liberation.

(1) Regarding things Tibetan, Kawaguchi worked tirelessly. He wrote numerous articles and books; gave popular speeches and learned lectures; catalogued scriptures, commentaries and artifacts, as well as specimens of flora and insects; and raised scholarship funds for students who wanted to study the Tibetan language and Buddhism. Realizing that it would be difficult for most Japanese to visit Tibet, he was determined to acquire and exhibit samples of Tibetan life and culture and especially those of the Buddhist tradition. He travelled to China three times (1925, 1929 and 1933) to meet the Panchen Lama in order to secure more scriptures and commentaries from Tibet. A pioneer, he realized that his mission was not to become a scholarly expert in any one area of Tibetan studies but to become a learned generalist, inspiring promising youths to become experts in various areas. He received his share of both praise and slander. (One unfortunate and distressing incident involved a misunderstanding between him and Aoki Bunkyō. The latter claimed that the Dalai Lama's gift of Tibetan scriptures had been intended for the patriarch of the Nishi Honganji and not for the University of Tokyo. Kawaguchi proposed an open inspection of a certain letter, allegedly from the Dalai Lama, by a group of impartial experts, but Aoki was sent abroad by the Nishi Honganji and the matter was left unsettled [Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 158–163].)

It is difficult to evaluate Kawaguchi's impact on Tibetan studies in Japan. His life and activities certainly broadened the mental horizon of the Japanese intelligentsia regarding hitherto unknown Tibet, its culture and its religion. But he was not an institutional man; he did everything on his own initiative. Although he taught at various institutions, including Tōyō and Taishō Universities, and inspired a series of such talented future scholars as Kambayashi Ryūjō, Higata Ryūshō, Yamada Mumon, Ōyama Kōjun and Tajima Ryūjun, he did not develop an academic base for his scholarship (Kawaguchi 1961: 175). Neither did he seek any ecclesiastical base. Kawaguchi's individualism was both his strength and his weakness.

(2) Throughout his last thirty years, Kawaguchi gave generously of his time and energy for the propagation of the Buddhist faith as he understood it. As stated earlier, his adventure to Nepal and Tibet was motivated by his desire to learn the truth of Buddhism by acquiring the authentic version of its scriptures. He was impatient with ecclesiastical bureaucracy and he lamented sectarian divisions. In 1918, he assumed the leadership of the Buddhist Promotion Society (Bukkyō senkyō–kai). Its members were expected to follow such simple principles as learning the truth and reality of karma, cultivating the spirits of independence, and acquiring the key to open the limitless treasure–house that exists within every person's mind. In 1921, he gave up his clerical status in the Ōbaku Zen sect in order to be a "monk–at–large," as it were, seeking "pure" Buddhism, following only the Buddha Śākyamuni. In 1926, at the age of sixty (or sixty–one, according to Japanese reckoning), he renounced the priesthood altogether and declared himself to be a lay Buddhist. In that year he also published a volume entitled *Zaike Bukkyō* (*Lay Buddhism*), in which he argued for the impossibility of fulfilling the monastic path of liberation in the present age and urged the faithful to follow the path of lay discipleship which had been transmitted from the Buddha Śākyamuni by Mañjuśrī, Maitreya and Prince Shōtoku (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 195–206).

Considering his heavy investment of time and energy over so many years of study in the rhetoric and grammar of the scriptures in India, Nepal and Tibet, one cannot help but be struck by the simplistic naiveté of his exposition of the main tenets of Buddhism. He was probably more a doer than a thinker, a man of piety rather than a man of inquiring mind. Be that as it may, he was one of the pioneers of the lay Buddhist movement which has come to play such an important role in contemporary Japan.

(3) The most impressive aspect of Kawaguchi's life was his dogged and consistent pursuit of his own path of salvation. We recall that at fifteen years, after reading the life of Buddha, he resolved to abstain from liquor and animal food and to remain celibate. Although he gave up the former resolution for a short time during his twenties, he resumed and maintained it throughout his life. He also followed the ancient Vinaya discipline, taking

only two meals a day, a light breakfast and a late morning meal. During his time in Tibet, he often lamented the moral laxity of the Tibetan Lamas; and for a person with so idealized a view of Tibetan scriptures, he had great disdain for the state of Buddhism in that country.

During his last thirty years, as a celebrity with wide contacts in India, Nepal and Tibet, he could have used his knowledge and experience for personal gain, since he was known to influential people in Japanese society. Yet his entrepreneurship was confined to securing sufficient funds for the Buddhist scriptures to be presented to the king of Nepal, the Panchen Lama, and the Dalai Lama, and to purchasing sets of scriptures and commentaries then unavailable in Japan, or to raising scholarship funds for students of Tibetan studies. He stayed clear of any involvement in military, diplomatic and other governmental affairs.

During this time, spent with the family of his younger brother Hanzui, a laicized journalist, Kawaguchi kept to a strict regimen, rising at 4:00 A.M., reciting scriptures, meditating, and often lecturing on Buddhism to his followers between 6:30 and 7:30 A.M. before they left for work or school. After a simple breakfast, he spent his time in reading, writing and research, breaking only for a late morning meal. When he went out to teach or lecture, he carried a simple vegetarian lunch. His only luxury was Darjeeling tea, a taste for which he had acquired in India. Toward the end of his life, he was invited to spend a summer at his followers' summer houses, where he continued his rigid discipline (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 209–215).

In 1940, at the age of seventy-five, Kawaguchi gave his Tibetan and Sanskrit collections to the Tōyō Bunko (Institute of Eastern Studies) and started commuting to the Institute to edit a Tibetan–Japanese dictionary. He worked regularly, even during air raids, knowing that his time was limited. One evening in December, 1944, he fell in an air raid shelter and lost consciousness. After that he lost his usual zest and energy. In February, 1945, he suffered a stroke and died peacefully at the age of eighty (Kawaguchi *ibid.*: 216).

In Retrospect

Like other pious adventurers known to the history of religions, Kawaguchi was a man of contradictions. Who would have thought that the son of an obscure Sakai merchant would have the imagination and daring to engineer a trip to the forbidden land of Tibet and to "hobnob" with the rulers of Tibet and Nepal! During his lonely adventures he risked his life many times, suffering from illness, rarified atmosphere, snow and ice, thirst and hunger. He was often humiliated, mistreated, and threatened by highwaymen; but he was also helped by many strangers. Through it all, he was sustained by utter faith in the Buddha and an undivided mind and heart: he wished to learn for himself the truth of Buddhism without the accretions of institutional religion. To him, all else was secondary.

Kawaguchi was neither a profound thinker nor a philosopher. Rather he was a man of simple faith and piety: he never expected to be a celebrity. His earnest desire was to introduce to Japan those Tibetan scriptures which he believed to be the most faithful translations of the Buddha's own teachings. Above all, he was fully committed to pursue his own path of salvation, an endeavor far more precious to him than philosophical sophistication. In this respect, his life reminds us of de la Vallée Poussin's statement: "The important thing in Buddhism is not dogma, but practice, not the goal, the mysterious and ascertainable Nirvana (of Hindu background), but the Path" (de la Vallée Poussin 1917: 110). Kawaguchi made a similar point in a poem he composed on the summit of a Himalayan mountain:

O Shakyamuni, Thou, my refuge dear!
　Till now Thy guardian shield has guarded me
Through many devious dangerous paths and wilds
　And snowy plateaus threatening instant deaths.
My grateful, fervent heart shall ever thrill
　With deathless Dharma's virtue taught by Thee.
In all my wanderings o'er the Himalayan range,
　On all my paths beset with perils great,
The path of Dharma is the path for me.
　Thus strengthened by the purest Dharma's strength
Traversed have I these unknown wilds, secure,
　And holiest Saints and Sanghas have I met.
Fore'er in Thee alone, O Lord, I live.

(Kawaguchi 1909: 654–655)

NOTES

1 I would like to present as a token of my esteem for the late Professor T.V. Wylie a modest contribution dealing with the initial contact between Japanese Buddhism and Tibet in the person of Kawaguchi Ekai (1866–1945).

2 There are numerous works dealing with the lives of various types of religious figures. I only cite one recent example, i.e., Reynolds and Capps 1976.

3 On Odoric, see Cameron 1970: 107–120.

4 On the overture of the Higashi (East) Honganji to the Dalai Lama, see Teramoto 1974.

5 Regarding the life and activities of Kawaguchi Ekai, I depend on his nephew's work: Kawaguchi 1961.

6 On the state of Japanese Buddhism during the Meiji period, see Kishimoto 1956.

7 He had studied Pali in Yokohama under Shaku Kōzen, who had earlier studied Theravāda Buddhism and Pali in Ceylon; one of his fellow students was D.T.Suzuki, who mentions this fact in his "Introduction" in Kawaguchi 1961: 2.

8 Regarding his first adventure to India, Nepal and Tibet, I depend on Kawaguchi 1967. For the reader's benefit, however, I quote as much as possible from his *Three Years in Tibet* (Kawaguchi 1909).

9 On Teramoto's activities, see Teramoto 1974: 104–173.

10 See Kitamura and Murata 1953–1955.

A CHRISTIAN–BUDDHIST DIALOG? SOME NOTES ON DESIDERI'S TIBETAN MANUSCRIPTS

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Biography

Ippolito Desideri was born in Pistoia in Tuscany in 1684. He entered the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in 1700 at the age of sixteen. Following his humanities, philosophy and theology studies in Rome, he was ordained at age twenty–eight, and soon afterwards at his own request was missioned to India by the Superior General of the Jesuits, Mic. A. Tamburini. When he arrived in Goa in 1713, he found his Provincial Superior willing to endorse his dream and desire to reopen the Jesuit mission at Tsaparang in Western Tibet — a venture that had ended nearly seventy–five years earlier due to severe loss of personnel in the forbidding Himalayan climate, as well as adverse political conditions in the area.

Within a year Desideri had sufficiently organized his expedition, mainly with financing from the Portuguese Christian community in Delhi, and set out for Srinagar in Kashmir via Lahore in 1714. He was accompanied by Manuel Freyre, S. J., ten years his senior and the official Superior of the "community" of two. They reached Leh in Ladakh by spring of 1715, where the Jesuit Azevedo had been well received eighty–five years before them. Freyre, a less adventuresome traveller than Desideri, already wished at this point to return, but not by the arduous route they had come. However, Desideri's eagerness prevailed, and the pair embarked on a thousand mile journey eastward across the roof of the world. By great good fortune they were able to join the caravan of the widowed Mongol princess of Gartok for the eight–month trek to Lhasa, where they arrived safely in March, 1716. They had completely bypassed Tsaparang, site of the former Jesuit mission, and had followed the Tsangpo/Brahmaputra River valley, even missing the opportunity for Freyre to return more easily to India via Kuti or Nyalam as they passed along the northern borders of Nepal.

Within a few days of their arrival in Lhasa, Freyre did return through Kathmandu to India (there to be lost from Jesuit records), while Desideri, probably already proficient in speaking Tibetan, gained almost immediate access to the then Mongol king of Tibet, Lha–bzang Khan (1658–1717). Professing his "white–head" (*mgo–dkar*: Tibetan for non–Asian visitors) religion, he was granted royal leave to purchase a house in central Lhasa below the Potala, and set to work studying the written language, a task he says he pursued day and night from the time he set foot in the country until the day he left. After a year of studying at his own house, he moved to

the monastery of Ramoche in Lhasa to receive instruction in the Buddhist *Bka' 'gyur* texts which would not have been available to him except in the great monastic university libraries. From five months study at Ramoche he next moved to Sera Monastery outside Lhasa, the famous Dge–lugs–pa center, to immerse himself in that order's spiritual teaching, concentrating on the founder Tsong–kha–pa's *Lam rim chen mo.* In December, 1717, civil war erupted in the capital, and, together with two Capuchin Friars who had recently arrived, he was forced to flee to Dwags–po, an area just north of eastern Bhutan. Here for three years (1718–1721), Desideri continued his study with local monks, and commenced writing his great Tibetan text on Buddhism and Christianity, taking it back to Lhasa on frequent visits to his monk friends there.

In March of 1721, having delayed a year since receiving the Jesuit General's order to quit Tibet because of a church territorial dispute that had arisen with the Capuchins, Desideri set out from Lhasa for India. He arrived in Agra in April, 1722, carrying his Tibetan notes and masterpiece with him, after spending eight years in his beloved Tibet. Still deeply disappointed at the Jesuits' having relinquished their Tibet mission "rights and reputation," he accepted assignment to Pondicherry, and began Tamil study for work in that mission. In 1727, however, he was sent to Rome with documents pertinent to his own and the Tibet mission's defense. Until his death in Rome five years later (1733), he busied himself writing his apologia, the remarkable *Notizie Istoriche del Thibet* (*Account of Tibet*). He was 49 years old.

Western and Tibetan Sources

Two things should be remembered about the newness of information on Desideri. The first is that there was little interest in Tibet among English–speaking scholars until British colonial expansion sent the Younghusband Expedition (1904) to Lhasa to force trade relations with Tibet, touching off renewed European research on the Land of Snows. Second, Desideri, the outstanding authority on Tibet, disappeared even from Jesuit history, probably because of the papal suppression of the Order (1773–1814), an event that left many Jesuit archives in disarray. Research on Desideri therefore is scarcely more than fifty years old.

The Western Sources

1. *An Account of Tibet.* The first modern publication of Desideri's *Notizie Istoriche del Thibet* was Puini's 1904 edition of the Italian manuscript he found in a private library at Pistoia. It is Desideri's own detailed and extensive description of his entire missionary career. In four books, he carefully records his observations about the geography, fauna and flora, personages, customs, religion and history of the Tibetan people, their unique civil and religious government. In short, it was the most comprehensive description not only of Tibet but of Buddhism itself that Westerners had ever seen. An English translation from Puini's Italian text was published in 1934 by Fil-

ippo de Filippi as *An Account of Thibet by Ippolito Desideri*, omitting the same sections on Buddhist philosophy that Puini had judged of little interest to Europeans. But Puini's somewhat abridged edition was compared with the Jesuit archives original manuscript in Rome by Luciano Petech, and published as the complete authoritative Italian edition in 1954.

2. *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia* by Cornelius Wessels, S.J. In 1924, after much research in the Archivum Romanum of the Society of Jesus in Rome, Wessels published this thorough and scholarly report not only on Desideri's historic journey but also on the several other Jesuits who had made the first European forays into the Himalayas and beyond, beginning in 1600. Wessels himself was a discoverer, in his finding in the Archives not only Desideri's correspondence from Tibet — fourteen letters to the General, Pope, Capuchins, and Cardinals of the Vatican — but also a treasure of four Tibetan manuscripts written by Desideri himself. Although the language was unknown to Wessels, his book did serve to correct some of the errors of omission or outright defamation that Desideri had received in early British research on Tibet. Authors such as Sandberg, Holdich, and Landon, had dismissed Desideri either as "Jesuit spy" or "agent of the Jesuits," or had omitted any mention of him altogether, eager as they seemed to be for Anglo–Saxon priority in Himalayan discovery (Wessels 1924: 209). The success of Wessel's introduction of Desideri to English scholarship can be measured by the more recent comments of Snellgrove and Richardson (1968: 222):

> Desideri was an educated man of penetrating intellectual powers, able within a short space to master sufficient Tibetan to write an account of the essentials of Christianity, and a little later to master the content and meaning of Tibetan Buddhism as expounded to him by Dge–lugs–pa teachers.

3. *I Missionarii Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal* by Luciano Petech. This magnificent seven–volume work was published in 1954. It represents a collection of all Jesuit and Capuchin letters pertinent to the two countries, carefully gleaned from both Orders' archives and from the Vatican resources, and contains the definitive edition of Desideri's *Notizie*. The letters (in Italian, French and Latin) provide most of the information on the dispute between the Capuchins and Desideri over "rights" to the Tibet mission — a matter not mentioned at all by Wessels, nor for that matter, by Desideri himself in his *Account* written for the general public. Petech's summation of Desideri again gives notice of the stature of the neglected man:

> Come si vede, si tratta di una mole consideravole di scritti, che rappresenta uno sforzo intellectuale no comune. Un'edizione (sia pura abbreviata) di questi scritti mostrerebbe la scolastica cattolica in polemica con quella lamaista, ad opera di una delle piu lucide e profonde menti che l'Asia abbia mai visto dall' Europa.
>
> (Petech 1954, Pt. 5: xxiv)

Desideri's Manuscripts

Four of the Tibetan manuscripts written by Desideri were discovered in 1924 by Wessels in the Archivum Romanum of the Society of Jesus, the Goa section, numbers 74–75–76. Petech, a Tibetan scholar, also examined these manuscripts. and gave a general description of their size, style, and content, in his *Missionarii.* To these four manuscripts, a fifth (unknown to Wessels and Petech) is now added to the list given here. The only active English translation work being done on Desideri's Tibetan writings is on MS. 3 noted below.

Manuscript 1: 54 pages, with a beginning date of 1 July, 1717, ending 29 June, 1721. It is a compilation of quotations from Buddhist logic texts, from Tsong–kha–pa's *Lam rim chen mo*, and from the Mahāyāna *sūtras*, all interspersed with notes in Italian or Latin indicating possible corresponding ideas of Christianity. The pages are rough and irregularly written, in all three styles of Tibetan script: capitals, cursive, shorthand. It is evidently a collection of material taken from his study at Sera Monastery and carried with him to Dwags–po where he wrote his masterpiece.

Manuscript 2: 117 large oblong pages in a more consistent cursive script (*dbu–med*), which contains his first and second outlines of what was to be his final great work. The beginning date is 18 December, 1717, ending 21 June, 1718; therefore begun at Sera Monastery, and left off at Dwags–po.

Manuscript 3 (The Catechism): 128 pages, written lengthwise in Tibetan (*pu–ti*) style, in capital (*dbu–can*) letters, entitled *Tho rangs mun sel nyi ma shar ba'i brda* (*Allegory of Sunrise Dispelling Dawn's Darkness*). Undated, this work was probably the catechism of Desideri's first year in Lhasa, and perhaps a rough writing of the one he says he presented to the King. Although ambitious in its nine–syllable poetic meter throughout and showing a considerable breadth of vocabulary, the composition has a beginner's difficulty in handling both the Tibetan script and the grammar. The text however does reveal an interesting growth in sensitivity to the connotations of Buddhist language.

Manuscript 4 (The Opus Magnum): 464 pages in clear regular capital Tibetan script, entitled *Mgo dkar gyi bla ma i po li do zhes bya ba yis phul ba'i bod kyi mkhas pa rnams la skye ba snga ma dang stong pa nyid kyi lta ba'i sgo nas zhu ba bzhugs so* (*Questions Proposed to the Scholars of Tibet on the Views of Rebirth and Emptiness, Presented by the White–head [European] Lama called Ippolito*). There is a beginning date of 24 June, 1718, and at the end 24 June, 1719; therefore it was written exclusively at Dwags–po. This text was Desideri's crowning work, but it is evidently unfinished, since the text stops abruptly toward the conclusion of his questions on the subject of rebirth, and does not treat of Buddhist emptiness at all.

Manuscript 5: An exciting piece of Desideri sleuthing done in 1970 by Father Edmund Lamalle, the revered Belgian curator of the Jesuit Roman Archives, who discovered some 262 pages of Tibetan writing misplaced in the Japanese–Chinese section III, number 4. The contents and hand are unmistakably Desideri's. The manuscrpt contains three separate items:

A) 9 pages of carefully written Italian composition of a catechism of Christian doctrine, which proves to be the original copy for the *Allegory of Sunrise* (Ms. 3 above) that Desideri was translating from Italian into Tibetan! Although this Italian original covers only half of the completed Tibetan text, it provides many clues to the Christian theological concepts Desideri was trying to express in a language that has only Buddhist, not Christian, metaphor.

B) The second 100 pages are a complete text, in neat Tibetan capital script, entitled *Ke ri sti aṇ gyi chos lugs kyi snying po bzhugs so* (*Heart of the Christian Religion*). This title is somewhat misleading, as half the content is a discussion of Buddhist emptiness (*stong-pa-nyid/śūnyatā*). From the mature grasp of Mādhyamika teaching that the text shows, and from the polish of its Tibetan expression, it would seem to be the second half of Desideri's unfinished masterpiece (Ms. 4 above), or at least its germ. The contents are touched upon in the second half of this article.

C) The final 54 pages are in tiny Tibetan shorthand (*khyug-yig* 'cursive') perfectly scribed, and are the Tibetan original of the *Heart of the Christian Religion* above. None of these pages is dated, but they must be Desideri's final attempts at Buddhist dialog, judging from their quality.

Desideri's Contribution

The unique character of Desideri's approach to mission endeavor owed itself to the insight of a Jesuit a century before him, one Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606). The original appearance of Jesuits on the mission scene in Asia was with Francis Xavier, who had followed traditional approaches to mass conversion and exportation of western culture along with the gospel, totally dismissing native religions as the works of Satan — and yet, with astounding charism and success in establishing the Christian community in Asia. But shortly after him, through the efforts of Valignano, Visitor General of the Jesuits in the Far East, (and Ricci's novice–master), an abrupt change to enculturation and adaptation as missionary methods was introduced. Furthering the footholds that Xavier had made from Goa and the Malabar coast to Macau and China and Japan, Valignano encouraged DeNobili in his Brahmin adaptations in India, and Ricci in his Confucian (rather than Buddhist) adaptations in China — leading to controversies that boiled for a century in the Roman Church. Valignano emphasized the necessity of learning not only the language but the literature and religious culture as well, in order to fit effectively into the adopted country's social structure. Urban centers, influential patronage among both intelligentsia and nobility, were to be the keys to success in spreading the gospel (Schutte 1980: 124–179).

Desideri was very much in this tradition, as is apparent in his desire to reach Lhasa and remain in Central Tibet rather than in the backwaters of Andrade's Tsaparang mission, and especially in his total immersion in Buddhist monasticism, and his dedication to Buddhist thought throughout his stay.

Even a skimming perusal of the *Account* (written during the crucial time of the Vatican's adjudication of the Jesuit/Capuchin controversy, and in a climate where dialog with other religions was nearly heresy) reveals Desideri's appreciation of the elements of Buddhism. The Tibetans, he says,

> are intelligent and endowed with speculative gifts, retaining from Indian Buddhism only what appeared to them to contain truth and goodness....In spiritual training, contemplation, and in the monastic religious life they have admirable rules and qualities.... Their morality agrees with our own.
>
> (DeFilippi 1932: 226, 246, 256)

It is true he used the clichés of his day in ascribing to Satan all the error that prevails in the world (including Tibet), but one has the feeling that such statements may also have been for the benefit of a critical Roman readership when contrasted with what he has to say to the Tibetans themselves. In the *Account* he even dares to compare the politics involved in the selection of Dalai Lamas to the "dissension which sometimes arises in the election of the supreme head of the Roman Church" (DeFilippi *ibid.*: 204). His sympathetic insight is well expressed when he says:

> Although the Tibetans theoretically and speculatively absolutely deny the existence of a Divinity and existence of an immortal soul, yet in practice and implicitly they do recognise them...for in whom can such perfection (the Great Bodhisattvas) be found except in God? ...I only wish to make clear that these blind people unconsciously admit and confusedly recognise the Divinity which they persistently deny in words.
>
> (DeFilippi *ibid.*: 251)

Desideri's writings during his eight years in Tibet show an interesting growth in his grasp of Buddhism. On first entering Ladakh he learned through interpreters that the Tibetans had a word for "God" — *dkon-mchog* (*ratna* 'jewel') — and a triune God at that! He must have felt he was indeed on the trail of the lost Christian communities of Central Asia, a rumor that had inspired missionary exploration a century earlier. But fifteen years later, he admits in the *Account* (while correcting a few errors of Marco Polo, Ramusio, Tavernier, Moreri, as well as the Jesuits Andrade and Kircher) that he misunderstood the meaning of the Buddhist Triple Jewel (Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha), and was dismayed when he saw his letter containing this misinformation still in circulation in Pondicherry years later (DeFilippi

ibid.: 303–304). He also concluded early on that the hierarchical structure of Tibetan Buddhism, with vestment and ritual similar to Roman Catholicism, were not really traces of a corrupted Christianity, as he had at first hoped. (DeFilippi *ibid.*: 300–302).

What were the studies that brought Desideri to the understanding and sensitivity he finally had of the Tibetan language and Buddhist religion? Having apparently mastered the fundamentals of the spoken language in his first year (during his stay in Ladakh and the journey to Lhasa), he spent another year developing his skills in the scripts and the classical syntax. But it was not until his Tibetan friends guided him to the great Lhasa monasteries of Ramoche and Sera (the latter a university of some 8,000 monks at that time) that he began to see the extent and depth of Buddhist literature. Not only did he read the lives of the Buddha and of Padmasambhava, but his Tibetan notes contain reflections and comparisons on the Tibetan canon, the *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur*, the 108–volume collection of the Mahāyanā *sūtra*s, the Vinaya, and Tantra, including the major and minor commentaries of all the Indian schools. Though relatively small, the list of *sūtra*s he consulted is impressive, considering that he is the first Westerner ever to have done so.

His syllabus for studying the vast Buddhist literature came from Tsong–kha–pa's *Lam rim chen mo*, the textbook still used by Dge–lugs–pa monks for their guidance in the intellectual and spiritual life. It was the best introduction Desideri could have had, acquainting him not just with important *sūtra*s, including the Perfection of Wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*) literature, but with the great Mādhyamika thinkers as well: Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Candrakīrti and Śāntideva, whose names and quotations are found in Desideri's final polished work. Karma, *saṁsāra*, non–self, emptiness, dependent origination and the two truths were all concepts he understood correctly and used well in his argumentation.

The Cathechism (Manuscript 3)

Although undated, one can easily surmise that Desideri's *Tho rangs mun sel nyi ma shar ba'i brda* (*Allegory of Sunrise Dispelling Dawn's Darkness*) is a work composed rather early in his stay at Lhasa. The translation and analysis of this catechism by Nancy Moore Gettelman is being greatly helped by a comparison of the Tibetan manuscript with the recently discovered Italian original of the first seven of its seventeen chapters (see Ms. 5 of my Tibetan Sources, above). The vocabulary is quite extensive, but its ambitious poetic (nine–syllable) meter renders the sense nearly incomprehensible in several places because of the omission of syntactic particles — a feature permissible in Tibetan poetry, but requiring an instinct for the language's word–order structure to preserve the sense.

The questions and answers throughout the carefully constructed catechism are presented as a dialog between "The wise and holy man who seeks the

truth," and "The Christian (White-head) padre who explains the law of pure truth." In a quite orderly way, Desideri presents the nature of God and the necessity of God's giving mankind precepts (in addition to reason) for right views and right moral action, the means to liberation, God's love and compassion, aids to overcoming obstacles and evil spirits, the unicity of God's law, the need of faith, and how to achieve the highest perfection. As one can see, the topics would have seemed familiar indeed to a Buddhist reader.

By examining a few of the terms, it can be shown that although he was just beginning to grasp Buddhist connotations, Desideri was deliberately using words of Buddhist origin in order to give them a further and deeper (namely, Christian) meaning. That a Tibetan Buddhist would have been open to a possible deeper meaning of his Buddhist words is credible, given the Tibetan *gter-ma* ("discovered texts") — later interpretative texts found in hidden places in Tibet only a century before Desideri — to say nothing of basic Mahāyāna notions of "provisional meaning" (*neyārtha*) and "absolute meaning" (*nītārtha*).

A Few Examples

GOD (*Iddio*) Desideri translates as *dkon-mchog* (*ratna* 'jewel'), the translation acceptable to the Capuchins. But he was aware that the primary connotation for the Buddhist was necessarily the Buddha-Dharma-Sangha, as in the "Three Jewels"; hence he adds the qualifier, *rang-grub* (*svabhava* 'self-existent') in order to specify the nature of God. He was to learn however that "self-existent" would describe equally well the ultimately real and true "body" of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Self-existent Body (*svabhava-kāya*) of Buddha. In the catechism, he twice uses another phrase for "God" which drew the one and only criticism of his work from his Capuchin friend, Della Penna: *sgam-po phya*, a word defying translation with present lexicons, but which Della Penna claims to mean *l'opere de'i viventi* (work of life), and is therefore open to notions of karma and rebirth (Petech 1952, Pt.1: 142).

Desideri's further descriptions of his Christian God do not altogether escape (at this early stage of his understanding) the Capuchin DaFano's charge that he was equating Christ with Buddha in his Tibetan hearers' minds; e.g., the "Lord of Compassion" (*thugs-rje'i bdag-po*) also happens to be a frequent epithet of Avalokiteśvara, whose reincarnation all Dalai Lamas are. And to describe God as "birthless, deathless, causeless, self-originating, self-producing, self-achieving, perfectly pure and changeless" would again leave the Mahāyāna Buddhist reader feeling that God is very Buddha-like.

ANGEL (*angelo*) is translated as *rnam-shes* (*vijñāna*), the word actually used for "consciousness" — which shows that Desideri was not yet entirely familiar with Buddhist non-self teaching and the five groups that compose the apparent self, consciousness being the fifth such group. But in pure etymology, it would otherwise have been a good choice: *rnam* is a pre-verbal

intensifier; *shes* is "knowing," and together they might have meant "pure–knower."

ETERNAL SALVATION (*l'eterna salute*). Desideri has no second thoughts about translating this phrase as the "liberation of Enlightenment" (*sangs–rgyas thar–pa/bodhi–mokṣa*), retaining the expression in his later writing as well. He could have translated "eternal salvation" quite literally in Tibetan with such un–Buddhist phrases as *'chi–med–par 'grol* (deathless saving) or *tshe rtag–par thob* (gaining ever–life), but his choice of the Buddhist phrase, "liberation of Enlightenment," indicates his approval and admiration of the Buddhist goal as not only noble, but as a valid way of expressing the goal of Christian life: a truly eternal freedom in the vision of God. Hence, while his first efforts may have been open to Capuchin criticism, they do show the effort Desideri was making toward expressing himself in a way that would find his hearers a common ground.

The Opus Magnum (Manuscript 4)

Desideri's crowning work was his 464–page *Questions on the Views of Rebirth and of Emptiness* (see Ms. 4 in my Tibetan Sources, above). An initial reaction to the title is that he must have been naïve or ingenuous to challenge Buddhist monks on their two most basic tenets. But even the cursory examination that my research has allowed shows that such is not the case. The format is carefully modelled in the style of most Tibetan religious texts (Tsong–kha–pa's *Lam rim*, for example), and somewhat similar to medieval European scholastic texts such as Aquinas's *Summa*. The argumentation is from both scripture and reason, and in this case, Desideri uses *Buddhist* scripture to establish his argument. The Tibetan composition is very nearly flawless in its polished classical style, both in poetry and prose.

The text opens with four separate poems of about 100 lines each. The first is his Christian "refuge–taking" (*skyabs–'gro/śaraṇa–gamana*), dedicated to his Lord, but omitting any use of the *dkon–mchog* phrase (the Buddhist "Jewel") that had bothered him (and the Capuchins) in his catechism. Nor does he use the third person personal pronoun (*khong*) in his litany of praises for God — "matchless, unequalled, infinite, beyond thought and speech, peerless Lord of Compassion, self–subsistent One," etc. — which therefore would allow the poem to be read as a praise of the Buddha, were it not for the entire direction of Desideri's questioning basic Buddhist doctrine. It is my belief that he hoped his Buddhist readers would reexamine the real meaning of their terms in the light of his own search for truth.

The second poem is a hymn of praise in honor of the wise and good people of Tibet and their love of truth. In it he tells how eager he was to visit their country when he first heard of it, and how he travelled long miles by sea and land under great hardship in order to meet them personally. But when he arrived, he was like a child and did not know their language, and hence

could not know their thoughts. But now he has learned their tongue, and has studied their law (*chos/dharma*) and is ready to propose these questions.

The third poem is an appealing prayer to the One (again omitting *dkon-mchog*) who is the "heart, jewel, light, star, and very life of Tibet." Although a Tibetan Buddhist would have read such praises as honoring Avalokiteśvara, the patron Bodhisattva of Tibet (living in their midst as the Dalai lama), the poem could have evoked wonder that Desideri's God also loved and had been guiding them throughout their history. Noticeably, Desideri never attacks the idea of Buddhahood or Bodhisattvas, but instead tries to present his version of what those realities are. The poem concludes with a petition for God's (the "One's") blessing, and a consecration of his treatise — also very correct Buddhist style.

The fourth and final poem is addressed to the monk–scholars of Tibet, rendered in the elegant and honorific language that would assuredly have won his audience. He describes his admiration of their religious achievements, especially praising their openness to the experience of truth, and their unfailing perseverance in examining other religious systems. This was no flattery on Desideri's part, since Tibet's Mādhyamika scholars thrived on debate; and it was, of course, Desideri's hopeful entrance to dialog.

Following the poems, the "table of contents" is presented in prose (Tibetan books generally do not give western–style tables of contents or indices with page numbers noted): for example, "The subject of Rebirth has three parts: Refutation by non–Buddhist reasoning, Refutation by Buddhist reasoning, Settling the argument. The first part has two points: Refutation of the eternality of Rebirth, Refutation of Rebirth's happening because of Karma...."

Unfortunately, the limited extent of my research to date permits this one example of the type of reasoning Desideri used ("On the eternality of rebirth"):

> Tibetans, if you apply the correct reasoning [*rjes–dpag/ anumāna*] of others [e.g., Nyāya school] in your own system, then there is a contradiction (*thal/prasaṅga*) in that the rebirth of at least one creature must have the property of a beginning, because the very fact of a creature's being born has the property of a beginning; and again, because only *not* being reborn has the character of eternality; and again, because even this one [reborn] creature would have to exist from an originless beginning. And that is a contradiction.

Suffice it to say that this kind of logical argumentation would have delighted the highly trained Dge–lugs–pa monks, and Desideri does remark in the *Account* how they flocked to his house in Lhasa to read his book even as it was in progress.

The Emptiness Text (Manuscript 5)

For a final sample of Desideri's mature grasp of Mādhyamika Buddhism, there is the newly discovered (see my MS. 5) *Heart of the Christian Religion.* The title is perhaps misleading (if the title page truly belongs to this manuscript), as only the latter part of the text deals with Christianity, whereas its beginning proceeds immediately into discussion of emptiness (*stong–pa–nyid/ śūnyatā*) — the heart of Buddhist wisdom. His intention may have been to compare this essential Buddhist teaching with Christian notions of God's infinite perfection. The contents of the text point to its being the material of what would have been the second half of his unfinished masterpiece, the *Questions.*

After the dedicatory poem of obeisance, addressed to God, but again without using the word *dkon–mchog*, the dialog commences between the "Seeker of the Heart of Wisdom" (a phrase with deep significance for Mahāyāna Buddhists and their familiar Perfection of Wisdom *sūtras*), and the "Paṇḍit who seeks to have the unerring strength of mind that distinguishes between truth and error, good and evil." This one selection can serve to demonstrate Desideri's familiarity with Mādhyamika expression.

> Now the treatises of Tibet hold that not even a single thing exists by reason of an inherent nature. They endeavor to view everything which exists as an emptiness which is itself empty of any self–existence. ...If everything which exists is an emptiness which is empty of inherent nature, then you necessarily hold that everything without exception is like a reflection of the moon appearing on the shining sea. ...If you hold that there is no reflection of the moon and that there is no basis for an actual moon, then at least there exists your *holding* of the emptiness of reflection and moon. And that one exception makes it a contradiction.

Obviously a great deal more research needs to be done before any accurate conclusions can be drawn about Desideri's full awareness of Mādhyamika dialectic, but this text will be the place for that research to begin.

Conclusion

There seems little doubt that Desideri was the first Christian to investigate Buddhism in depth. But even if his approach to communicating with Tibetan Buddhists did not reach modern levels of sympathetic dialog and ecumenism, he has certainly demonstrated his appreciation of the truth and goodness he perceived in Buddhism by his use of Buddhist terms in his exposition. And while the stylistic format of "*true* seeker" questioning the "*proponent* of true law" may seem arrogant by present attitudes in ecumenism, it was nonetheless a great step forward for his day.

THE MEDIEVAL SCHOLASTIC METHOD IN TIBET AND THE WEST

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The "scholastic method" may be described briefly as a method for organizing one's thoughts and presenting them in an orderly form as an argument or, more commonly, a series of connected arguments. In itself, the tripartite scholastic method has nothing to do with formal logic or metaphysics, the subject matter in many of the Tibetan and Latin treatises which use the method.[1] It is, rather, a method of organizing an extended argument. Its rigorous structure does not invariably restrict the creativity of thought, but often forces the writer to clarify questions that would otherwise remain hidden, and thus to generate new approaches to solving them. The medieval Western scholastic method is essentially identical to the larger-scale method of organizing a doctoral dissertation — a medieval creation itself — and thus it is also the "scientific method" for all fields of learning. In fact, the scholastic method is structurally parallel to Karl Popper's abstraction of the process of scientific thought.[2]

The Tibetan scholastic method is familiar to most Tibetologists primarily from the Dgelugspa *yig-cha*, or "academic manual" literature of recent centuries. As used in that literature, it is a polemical system of little creative value, and has been viewed rather unfavorably by those few scholars who have referred to it at all. The terminology for the parts of the literary scholastic method and of the oral scholastic debate is today the same. What little has been said in print about the method actually refers to its oral counterpart. Thus, the only discussion of it in the standard handbooks is in R.A. Stein's *Tibetan Civilization*, in the discussion of public debates, where Stein states, probably correctly:

> It is no longer anything but an exercise in essentially formalistic logic or rhetoric .... In the now stereotyped state of the practice, discussion seems to be conducted entirely with quotations from canonical works, aptly and artfully deployed.

Stein briefly describes the method, commonly referred to in Tibetan as *dgag bzhag spang gsum*. (This is short for *gzhan lugs dgagpa*, *rang lugs bzhagpa*, *rtsodpa spangba gsum*, or "the three[-fold method]: refuting the other's position, establishing one's own position, rejection of [further] argumentation.") Stein says that the mode of argument "provides for three positions closely corresponding to our thesis, antithesis and synthesis," and that "the disputation (*rtags gsal*) proceeds by question and answer, either as a daily exercise between fellow-pupils, or as an examination between teacher and pupil." However, although he says that it "can also be utilized for soli-

tary reflection," he does not refer to the method's use in scholastic books.[3] The Tibetan scholastic method, especially as found in literary works, has not yet been subjected to a detailed examination by any scholar, and its origins and early development in Tibet thus remain unknown. However, it is a fact that the terminology of the parts of the debate, as just described, is also the terminology of the parts of an argument in the literary scholastic method. That this is no coincidence is clear from the work of an early Saskyapa hierarch.

A Tibetan contemporary of Chinggis Khan, the famous Saskya Paṇḍita (1182–1251), is the earliest firmly–dated Tibetan writer presently known who uses the Tibetan tripartite method in his own extant works, the most outstanding example of which is his *Tshadma rigpa'i gter*, or "Treasury of Epistemology."[4] Of especial interest, however, is the fact that he wrote extensively on the subject of scholastic debate in his book *Mkhaspa 'jugpa'i sgo*, or "Introduction for Scholars," the three chapters of which deal with the Tibetan scholastic Trivium: Composition (dealing primarily with language, or Grammar); Exegesis, and Disputation (that is, logical, scientific argumentation). At the very beginning of chapter three, on disputation, he describes the structure and process of a debate. He uses the tripartite method, without comment, in his analysis of the Indian traditions on the points of defeat in formal debates. So far as I have noticed, it is the only place in the book where the literary scholastic method is found.

Saskya Paṇḍita begins his discussion with a description of the three parts of a scholarly debate:

1. *sbyor*, or *sbyorba*, the "preparation," which is "clearing the path [of the debate] in order to ascertain [who] the debaters [will be]."
2. *dngos*, or *dngos–gzhi*, the "main subject–matter," which is "establishing ideas through assertions and replies, in order to defend the [Buddhist] teaching."
3. *rjes*, or *mjug*, the "conclusion," meaning "the summation and explanation of that which was discussed, in order that it may be easily grasped by the assembled [audience]."[5]

He follows this discussion with an introduction to the scholastic debate proper. According to Saskya Paṇḍita, a scholarly debate requires three persons:

1. A *rgolba*, or "debater," who agrees to adhere to his own theory.
2. A *phyir rgolba*, or "opposing debater," who agrees to [attempt to] refute the former.
3. A *dpangpo*, or "witness," who agrees to pick out fairly the defects [in the arguments] of those two."[6]

The author's terminology is essentially the same as that currently used in Tibetan debate in the Dgelugspa school, although the *dpangpo* is today usually a completely passive participant. In the most common type of present–

day Dgelugspa debates, the first debater, or *sngar rgol*, poses a question to the second debater, or *phyir rgol*, and the two then argue back and forth, each citing textual authorities in support of his own view. This is the *dgagpa* and *bzhagpa*, or main portion of the debate. Finally, after the debate has gone on for some time, one of the two debaters will summarize the arguments of the opponent and of himself, and state what the conclusion must be; this is thus the *spangba*. In unusually important cases, the *dpangpo* will be presented with summaries of the views of both sides, and will be required to decide the victor and the loser. Quite commonly, the conclusion is simply the statement that the view of the school upheld by one debater says such and such, while the view of the school upheld by the other debater says so and so; thus no real conclusion is reached.[7] This of course amounts to the same thing as the Western medieval *questiones disputatæ*, and the *sic et non* method of Abelard.[8]

Following Saskya Paṇḍita's introduction to his discussion of the members participating in a debate, he then uses the tripartite method to analyze the differing viewpoints on points of defeat (*nigrahasthāna*) according to the "Tibetan school" and the "school of Akṣapāda" — in the midst of which he discusses the necessity of having an intelligent *dpangpo* — and on futile rejoinders (*jāti*). His own views are based on those of Dharmakīrti, whom he quotes liberally throughout. Although Saskya Paṇḍita nowhere discusses the tripartite method *dgag bzhag spang gsum* itself, his use of it in the third chapter of the *Mkhaspa 'jugpa'i sgo*, and — more importantly — as the organizing method for nearly the whole of his great work on epistemology, the *Tshadma rigpa'i gter*, indicates that a literary disputation in Tibetan should consist of essentially the same three parts as debate, or oral disputation.

The literary scholastic method used by Saskya Paṇḍita is the same tripartite scholastic method used by the later Dgelugspa and other authors — such as, for example, 'Jam–dbyangs bzhadpa — in their treatises, where each argument is divided according to the tripartite system, and each part of each argument is further subdivided into different parts that also use the tripartite system. The points are usually numbered, and dealt with systematically one by one. So far, I have found no indication of a literary source for the Tibetan tripartite system. However, in view of Saskya Paṇḍita's treatment of the method of scholastic debate in his *Mkhaspa 'jugpa'i sgo*, and of the Dgelugspa use of the terminology *dgag bzhag spang gsum* for both oral and scholastic disputation, it is possible to hypothesize that the Tibetan tripartite scholastic method was not in origin a Tibetan invention, but was in the beginning a typically Indian method of disputation, based on oral debate, the techniques of which were borrowed along with the rest of the medieval Indian educational system.[9]

Finally, it would be appropriate to return now to the subject of the relationship, if any, between the medieval scholastic method, or methods, and

what has been called by Popper the actual "scientific method." The fact that the Tibetan and Western European literary scholastic methods, which are practically identical in basic form and function, appear at precisely the same time in history — the twelfth century — without known literary predecessors, is worthy of at least a curious glance. Yet while Tibet had — according to Lynn White, Jr. — something to contribute to the medieval West in the way of technology (see White 1960; Beckwith 1987), it is striking that the two civilizations, so similar in many ways, then went on to develop along such different paths.

One of the most interesting comparisons and contrasts between Tibet and the West would seem to involve the scholastic method and its supposed Western special development, the "scientific method." While the question of the origins of the two methods remains practically untouched, the debate concerning the *nature* of the "scientific method" rages unabated at present. The major thoeries are those of Karl Popper, Thomas Kuhn, Imre Lakatos, and Larry Laudan. The most recent attempts at criticism of these thinkers and formulation of a new theory, notably Pandit's *Structure and Growth of Scientific Knowledge* (1983) and Sarkar's *Theory of Method* (1983), are conspicuously bereft of a comparative viewpoint. Interestingly, both of the latter two writers are from the Indian subcontinent.

None of the above–mentioned philosophers of science seem to have paid much attention to the fact that, until very recently, most Western scientists (whatever their field) have had to write and defend a dissertation — a scholastic treatise — in order to receive a doctorate or its equivalent. The *form* of the dissertation and of Popper's abstraction of the modern "scientific method" are surely related to the *form* of the "scholastic method." The scholastic method was the system of argumentation used by all medieval scholars, including those who did things that in English are now called "science." Thus, it is not surprising to find many "elements of methodological continuity between the medievals and early modern scientists" (Wallace 1974 ii: x). Despite this, in the West today, particularly in the English– and French–speaking worlds, scholars in different fields such as history and physics are estranged from one another. In view of the otherwise so closely parallel development of intellectual methodology in Europe and Tibet in the twelfth century, further study of the Tibetan scholastic method and its subsequent history could be of great comparative value for understanding the subsequent development of scientific method in the West.

NOTES

[1] For a recent analysis of the logic used in Tibetan oral debates, see Goldberg 1985. Numerous studies of dialectics and logic in Tibet and India exist. Unfortunately, I have found none that deal with the external structure of the arguments, although very many authors introduce their own structure, such as by marking the opponent's view when it is unmarked in the original (often without indicating whether or not the original is in fact so marked, or is in any way clearly structured). On the other hand, I must note that the abstruse philosophical subject–matter of most of the texts used for this paper is largely impenetrable for me both in the original languages and in the English translations.

[2] Popper 1962, esp. pp. 312 ff. He describes the "scientific method," distinguishing it from the "dialectical method":

> Faced with a certain problem, the scientist offers, tentatively, some sort of solution — a theory. This theory science accepts only provisionally, if at all; and it is most characteristic of the scientific method that scientists will spare no pains to criticize and test the theory in question. Criticizing and testing go hand in hand; the theory is criticized from very many different sides in order to bring out those points which may be vulnerable. And the testing of the theory proceeds by exposing these vulnerable points to as severe an examination as possible .... If the outcome of a test shows that the theory is erroneous, then it is eliminated; the method of trial and error is essentially a method of elimination ... we may, if we are lucky, secure the survival of the fittest theory by elimination of those which are less fit.

In short, Popper's explanation of the "scientific method" states that first (*dgag*), problems — these are always problems which are not solved satisfactorily by other people's theories, as he discusses at length elsewhere — are recognized; second (*bzhag*), a new theory proposed to solve the problem is attacked and defended; third (*spang*), the new theory is either rejected or accepted.

It is important to note that Popper's construct refers to conscious scientific cogitation, not to technological work. The criticism of this most important part of his theory, so far as I have followed it, is largely irrelevant, since the critics have all confused "science" with "technology" (or have changed the subject of discussion from the logic of scientific thought — essentially in the mind of the individual scientist — to the sociology of scientific progress and of scientific organization and behavior within the larger community). Unlike the English word "science," which now excludes other fields of intellectual endeavor — such as history, or music — from its exalted position, the German

term *Wissenschaft* includes all fields of endeavor that are characterized by careful, methodical thought. If one could perhaps not go so far as to say that "science" and "technology" are unrelated, one must bear in mind the fact that even fine arts and literature are fields that are in some respects more closely related to "science" than is technology. The confusion that seems to dominate the discussion of this subject would be at least partly mitigated by more thorough understanding of the broad scope of scholarly activity in the modern American university, and by (consequently) more carefully thought out and consistent usage of the terminology involved. See further below.

3 Stein 1972a: 160–161. In a letter dated 9 October 1986, my colleague David Jackson remarks:

> In general, debating has two kinds: through reasoning (*rigs pa*) and scripture (*lung*). As Sa–pan explains, the citation of scriptures in support of the debaters' views is a type of debating quite different from the more strictly logical criticism and defence of the *sngar rgol*'s thesis, and it entails its own special principles.

4 See the analysis of the contents of this work by Horvath 1984. The work is discussed and analyzed somewhat differently in Kuijp 1983: 125–216. See now also the detailed study of the *œuvre* of Saskya Paṇḍita by Jackson 1985. A major part of Jackson's work consists of the translation and annotation of chapter three of the *Mkhaspa 'jugpa'i sgo*. However, the dissertation does not deal with the subject of the present paper, and the Tibetan tripartite method is mentioned only very briefly, on pp. 239–240 and 257–258. I would like to thank the author for helping me to obtain a copy of his dissertation, and also for his helpful comments on and corrections of an earlier draft of this paper.

5 Saskya Paṇḍita 1981: 109. I am indebted to David Jackson for his clarification of this section of the text.

6 Saskya Paṇḍita, *loc. cit.* in Note 5.

7 This description of twentieth-century Dgelugspa debate practice is based on the oral communication of Thubten Jigme Norbu, April 10, 1985.

8 On the Western scholastic method, see the classic work of Grabmann 1909–1911.

9 Several scholars have remarked to me that the type of dialectic used by Saskya Paṇḍita appears to go back to the epistemological works of Phywapa Choskyi sengge and Rngog Locchāva. (See the discussions in Jackson 1985, cited above.) However, so little seems to be preserved of these authors' writings that it is not at present possible to say if they were even aware of the tripartite method. Moreover, as mentioned above, there is no direct relationship between the scholastic method — a rhetorical device — and the epistemological content of any given author's works. Although it is possible to find isolated examples of three–part arguments in various Indian scholastic works, so far I have found no example where the author clearly marks the parts of his argument (this is generally true no matter what form the argument takes), or follows the three–part structure throughout the work. For an interesting and fairly clear example, see Śāntirakṣita's *Tattvasaṁgraha*,

verses 171–187 and 188–216 (pp. 139–157, the arguments of the Nyāya school for their view of the 'self' and the author's refutation of them, respectively), verses 217–218 (p. 158, the author's own — Buddhist — view), and verses 219–221 (pp. 159–162, the author's refutation of the Nyāya critique of the Buddhist view of the 'self'), in Jha 1937. I am indebted to my colleague Matthew Kapstein of the University of Chicago for this reference and for pointing out further that the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* also has a three-part argument in the ninth section, on the refutation of the 'self'. While going through Jha's translation of the *Tattvasaṁgraha*, I noticed another three-part argument in the section on the Jaina doctrine of the soul, verses 311–320 (pp. 204–208, the Jaina view), verses 321–324 (pp. 209–210, the author's view), and verses 325–327 (pp. 211–212, the author's refutation of anticipated Jaina objections to his view). The close similarity of the form of these arguments to the Tibetan scholastic method inclines me to the opinion that the Tibetan method is after all a development out of the Indian tradition. The importance of Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla for the early development of Tibetan thought can hardly be overemphasized.

For the argument that the Western scholastic method was adopted from the Islamic one (along with the institution of the college), see Makdisi 1981. Makdisi's arguments are interesting, and there may indeed be something to them. However, my own attempt to discover a clearly marked tripartite argument in Classical Arabic texts (including those cited by Makdisi, in so far as they are held in the Indiana University Library) came to naught. This is not to say that such arguments are not to be found, but discussion of this question with several learned Arabicist colleagues also failed to produce citations of works wherein a similar tripartite argument is used consistently throughout the text. Clearly, much more research is needed on the mysterious origins of the Western and Tibetan scholastic methods (and on the Islamic and Indian methods as well) before drawing any conclusions.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF TIBETAN AND WESTERN NEAR-DEATH EXPERIENCES

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The *'das–log* is a figure in the literature of Tibetan popular religion who "dies," goes to *bar–do*, hell and other realms of existence, returns to life and reports his findings. These typically include injunctions from the Dharmarāja to lead moral lives so as to avoid the sufferings of hell–bound beings witnessed by the *'das–log*; messages from suffering souls to their friends and kinsmen; and preachings on ethical causation by the *'das–log* himself.

In a previous paper (Epstein 1982) I have explored these and other themes, including the psychological conversion experience undergone by the *'das–log*. Employing both literary and ethnographic material, I found that the *'das–log* experience was most profitably viewed as a Tibetan Buddhist transformation of a shamanistic trance state (Wylie 1969), widely recognized as a form of dissociation (altered state of consciousness). Using evidence in the biographical materials to reconstruct social–psychological portraits of the *'das–log*s, I determined that the onset and course of their near–death experience (NDE) could be explained as a struggle to achieve maturity in a Buddhist sense. Utilizing concepts from the psychology of object relations, I found that, despite their widely varying social backgrounds, a common ground could be found in their failure to achieve a socially satisfying role in either a religious framework or role relationships with significant others, due to a psychological history of ambivalence stemming from separation anxieties.[1] As I noted in this earlier paper, the failure to achieve unambivalent social or religious maturity appears to be the key to understanding the *'das–log* experience. In Eriksonian terms, I think there is in the *'das–log* biographies evidence which shows that they suffer from an identity crisis in young adulthood (most of them are approximately twenty–five to thirty years old), triggered by their failure to form relationships of shared intimacy with real or fantasied figures. This crisis resolves in a regression in the service of the ego, eventuating in the *'das–log*s' being reparented by culturally appropriate fantasy figures and in their "rebirth" as religiously mature figures.

I also noted that there were historical circumstances in the which the *'das–log* appeared to flourish. Utilizing internal evidence from the biographies, I postulated that the *'das–log* experience (DLE) seemed linked not only to personal etiologies, but to an historic environment in which there was evident a nativistic call to basic Buddhist morality, due to the stresses of internecine sectarian–political struggle, or for a grounding of Buddhist ethics in recently missionized regions.

I would now like to expand some of these earlier comments, comparing recent developments in Western (American) research into yet other models of the near–death experience. I will first briefly compare the DLE with Western near–death experiences (NDEs). I will contrast the two and offer preliminary comments on the sociocultural values that may produce, and be discernable in them.

In my previous paper, I referred to the DLE as a state of dissociation or an altered state of consciousness. The NDE has found recent prominence in American clinical writings and research. Basically, NDEs and altered states of consciousness have much in common; the latter is generally regarded as a subtype of the former (Sabom 1982: 174 ff.). While the psychological mechanisms which induce such states are by no means clear, what appears to happen is that the NDE is a response to some sort of psychic or somatic stress, which "in turn activates 'unconscious matrices' (possibly associated with archaic parts of the brain) containing the 'elements' that comprise the core [near–death] experience" (e.g., Ring 1982: 214 ff.; Grof and Halifax 1977: 183).[2] However, while such psychologically based programs might be stored in all or just some of us, the NDE/DLE cannot be reduced to mere physiological explanation. Rather, the release of such stored information permits the individual to become sensitized to a "new reality." The NDE is a perception of that reality and not merely a by–product of the physiological state (Ring 1982: *loc. cit.*). If this is indeed the case, we may then expect that the objective phenomena which appear as episodes in the structure of the NDE remain relatively stable cross–culturally, whereas the content and evaluation of the experience vary widely.

First, to examine and compare the structures of the NDE and the DLE I have used a composite model which emerges from the Tibetan *'das–log* biographies and three Western works. Among the latter, Ring (1982) and Sabom (1982) represent clinically derived portraits of the NDE, while Moody (1975) presents a generalized and nonclinical picture from narrative and other sources. Typically, the subjects of the clinical studies are persons who have undergone a serious, often life–threatening, medical or traumatic emergency, such as heart failure. The mean age of their sample is around fifty years of age. (I believe that age difference between the *'das-log* and the Western near–death experiencer may be significant and I return to this point below.)

Moody divides the NDE into the following episodes: (1) Ineffability, (2) Hearing the news, (3) Feelings of peace and quiet, (4) Noise, (5) Dark tunnel, (6) Out–of–body experience (OBE), (7) Meeting others, (8) Seeing and entering light, (9) Life review, (10) Border, (11) Coming back, (12) Telling others, (13) Effects on lives, (14) New views of death, and (15) Corroboration. Generally speaking, Ring and Sabom corroborate and round out Moody's general picture with clinical data, with only seemingly minor disagreements in the

sequence of the episodes. However, these minor discrepancies, I believe, turn out to have major cultural implications.

Episode 1: While some reactions of fear have been noted in analysands, they generally report a sense of ineffability, timelessness and a sense of reality about the experience. Since the onset of the conditions which trigger the NDE is usually sudden, analysands have little or no time to consciously anticipate what might be happening to them.

Episode 2: In this "stage," analysands infer their own "deaths," or "hear the news" that they have died (at least undergone clinical death). This inference is usually drawn on the cessation of normal sensory input and pain; it is usually accompanied by overriding feelings of peace.

Episode 3: Feelings of peace and quiet are experienced by large numbers of near–death analysands. Some 70% of those in Ring's sample who progress to episode 5 do so, while only 5% express transient fears.

Episode 4: A small percentage of persons in clinical samples report whistling and buzzing sounds.

Episode 5: The "tunnel" experience, during which analysands feel themselves floating in or through dark space, through which they transit from "this world" to the "next," occurs in about 23% of Ring's respondents.

Episode 6: Whereas the out–of–body experience (OBE) is listed in this position by Moody, Ring lists it after Episode 3. About 37% of his respondents undergo an OBE. This is characterized by the analysand usually finding himself in an elevated position viewing his own body. He is also cognizant of the actions and speech of others around him, not only in the immediate vicinity, but even at some remove. This episode is characterized by sharp, but detached and rational ideation, as if the analysand were constituted of "mind only" released from somatic constraints. Sabom also reports the absence of physical constraints (such as the presence of pain) and the ability to "travel" instantly to new locations. He reports that it is during this episode that analysands may attempt to communicate (always unsuccessfully) with "living" others.

Episode 7: This consists principally in meetings with long or recently dead figures known to the analysand. In the clinical analyses this episode generally occurs as part of the next episode.

Episode 8: In Ring's sample about 33% of the analysands report seeing a brilliant light which brings them peace and comfort. This phenomenon is highly susceptible to symbolic loading with religious overtones. It is often interpeted as the termination of the experience of "dying," and as the start of a vision of the "afterlife." About 20% of the analysands enter the light where they experience further preternatural illuminations — vivid colors, unusual structures, bucolic scenery, music and gushing sounds. During this episode they may meet deceased kin.

Episode 9: About 25% of the analysands experience either a whole or a selective review of incidents from their life. Many of these incidents do not seem crucial to fathoming the present experience.

Episode 10: About 33% of the analysands feel that if they proceed any further into the experience they will "die" absolutely. Instead, they elect to return to "life" of their own volition. About 15% believe they are "sent" back. These decisions are usually taken (or given) as the result of counsel with deceased kin or friends, or a supernatural figure whom they meet or who appears as a disembodied voice. Analysands commonly report that they return because they feel the pull of loved ones or the need to accomplish unfinished tasks.

Episode 11: The analysand's return to the body is often sudden and blank, free of cognitive content. Occasionally people report a painful jolt.

I shall generally discuss the remaining episodes below. In the DLE, the episodes are ordered in the following way:

Episode 1: Generally, the *'das-log* is afflicted by an illness, and unlike the Western cases, has some time to contemplate its possible results. Although the onset of the DLE may be ineffable, it is characterized as painful and confusing.

Episode 2: Whether or not the *'das-log* recognizes the signs of elemental dissolution as given in the *'chi-kha'i bar-do* texts, the excruciating psychic and physical pain of the experience is emphasized. The *'das-log* usually does not recognize he has "died" for some time, perhaps until he has reached *bar-do*.

Episode 3: The *'das-log* encounters the primary light, secondary lights, colors and sometimes the "dark tunnel" structure. Depending on the state of his knowledge he might recognize these signs for what they are, as he recollects the *bar-do* teachings. More often, he is confused and frightened by them. A partial life review may appear at this stage, emphasizing the *'das-log*'s remorse at not having led a better life.

Episode 4: The *'das-log* hears the noises associated with the *chos-nyid bar-do*, such as the roaring of dragons, the shouts of *yama*s, or the disembodied voices of supernaturals.

Episode 5: The OBE systematically stresses the *'das-log*'s discomfiture, pain, disappointment, anger and disillusionment with others and with the moral worth of the world at large. The acquisition of a *yid-lus* and the ability to travel instantaneously are also found here.

Episode 6: The *'das-log*, usually accompanied by a supernatural guide, tours *bar-do*, where he witnesses painful scenes and meets others known to him. They give him messages to take back.

Episode 7: The *'das-log* witnesses trials in and tours hell. The crimes and punishments of others are explained to him. Tortured souls also ask him to take back messages to the living.

Episode 8: The Dharmarāja explains matters to the *'das-log*, exhorting him to lead a moral life and spread the word among the quick. The *'das-log* is sent back by the Dharmarāja.

Episode 9: The *'das-log* returns to his own body, with the same fear and revulsion with which he left it.

Two things are immediately apparent even in this cursory comparison. First, the structural elements of the NDE/DLE appear to be the same cross-culturally, even though their order is variable.[3] Second, the values inhering in the experience digress radically. Principally, the typical triadic structure of the rite of passage appears in both. The third part of this structure, the aftereffects of this experience, we will leave in abeyance for the moment. The remaining two parts are separated by a central division occuring after the OBE episode. The first part is occasioned by psychophysiological stress, either a severe illness or trauma. But the course of this first part is cognitively and affectively different in Western and Tibetan literature. Structurally, ineffability, timelessness and the heightened sense of reality are present in both.[4] But whereas the Western experience emphasizes feelings of peace, comfort, painlessness and mellow euphoria, the Tibetan emphasizes remorse, pain, fear, disappointment and disillusionment. The Western OBE seems so closely grounded in empirical reality, in fact, that Ring and Sabom, the two major researchers, have both felt compelled especially to address the problem of how this can possibly occur. Ring proffers a "parapsychological holographic explanation," maintaining that a state of consciousness may be functioning independently of the brain in a new order of reality (Ring 1982: 183). Others, e.g., Grosso (1982) and Osis and Haraldson (1977), offer up explanations which rest on our accepting material ("*psi*") components of consciousness or ontologically real life-after-death survival of a soul or spirit. Such explanations we are compelled to question since they do not conform to the requirements of falsifiability.

An emic Tibetan explanation might concur with any one of these foregoing ones in whole or in part. But if one were to apply the Tibetan model to the Western experience or the Western model to the Tibetan experience, one would still be faced with explaining the clear disjunction in values: Why is the Western experience beatific, the Tibetan terrifying?

The transitional episode between the "reality-bound" Western OBE and the Tibetan one also differ in the clinical models. (Moody's nonempirical one corresponds to the Tibetan sequence.) The Tibetan sequence is Tunnel/Lights — OBE — *Bar-do*; the Western sequence is OBE — Tunnel — Light. The two sequences are patently in accord with respective beliefs about the *rnam-shes*, whose departure from the body may occasion a death-like state without the "real thing," and the Western soul, whose typical choice is only between this world and the next, without intervening or intermediate states.

Not only are the differences in the episodic sequences important to recognize, but so are their differing qualities. Again, the Western experience is predominantly peaceful and beatific. Analysands report bucolic scenery, music, greetings by dead kin, a presence believed by many to be God or Jesus, etc. Tibetans, on the other hand, speak of the terrible tribulations of *bar–do*, and the horrors of hell.[5]

The third stage of the NDE/DLE is the aftermath of the "return." Here again there are similarities and differences. Westerners undergo a kind of conversion, a "raising of consciousness" and a change in personal values (Ring 1982: 8 ff.). These are changes which can be characterized as affectively positive: increased appreciation of life, a renewed sense of purpose, greater feelings of personal strength, a stronger commitment to universal love, a reduced fear of death, a heightened religious feeling which manifests not in the institutional but in the mystical–cosmic sense, and a strong belief in the afterlife. The *'das–log* shares some of these attributes. Certainly he has a renewed sense of purpose, personal strength and commitment to work for the salvation of all sentient beings, while his ambivalence over belief in the afterlife and the operations of karma that condition it has been resolved. However, one can say that his fear of death has increased, in that human life is now viewed as an opportunity all too easily wasted without single–minded commitment to religious ends and means. Obviously, the Westerner, if he does not actually welcome death, no longer fears it. He vows to live life to the fullest, especially in its social sense. Loving relationships with family, friends and mankind at large are now sacralized. The *'das–log*, on the other hand, is now convinced that death is a most fearful prospect in light of a life lived without religion. Toward such an end, he must undertake the personal sacrifice of renouncing familial and personal love for the highly abstract, hard–to–achieve, and sometimes painful love of a bodhisattva.

The questions we must now ask are: (1) Can such divergent values be accomodated within the same experience? (2) What can be said of the social and psychological conditions which shape the contrasting Western and Tibetan experiences?

The tendency in Western studies of the NDE has been to concentrate on the psychological substrate of the experience; inasmuch as no single psychophysiological explanation has proven satisfactory, Western students have typically turned to idealist abstractions: souls, *psi* particles, and other equally nonconfirmable whatnot (see e.g., Widdison 1982; Audette 1982). There has also been a tendency to treat the NDE as a state–specific, independent and culture–free phenomenon whose cross–cultural manifestations are invariable. Here we can either deny that the DLE is an NDE — a move that flies in the face of the evidence — or be forced to consider why NDEs, no matter whose they might be, are in fact culture–bound.

Unfortunately, attempts at garnering longitudinal social-psychological background information on analysands have been rather paltry. Ring, Sabom and others have limited their queries to standard sociological questions: demographic data, religious background and affiliation, church attendance, educational level, occupational background and so on, before flying off into the wide blue yonder of speculation. They have shown however that differences in these data have no apparent effect on the core NDE. But because of this, they conclude the experience is not culture-dependent. I concur in the first half of this statement; in the latter I most emphatically do not. What has been roundly ignored is that these sociological data are merely surface phenomena, pale transforms of a culture's "deep structure." Similarly the ego which undergoes the NDE, narrates, interprets and makes meaningful such a powerful experience as the NDE appears to be, is not merely an independent kernel wrapped in a husk of culture. Ego and its processes are cultural constructs as well.[6] The individual, his system of meanings, values, indeed his concepts and precepts, is the product of his culture as well as his soma. Clearly, it is among these depths that cultural values and personal constructs of them must be sought with regard to the course of the NDEs and how they are diversely experienced. We must look, therefore, beyond such factors as the analysand's religious convictions, church membership and so forth, as well as beyond the culture-boundedness of the analyst, to discover the culturally constructed ground upon which these similar, yet different, experiences lie. If we assume, as we can only do at this point, that the neurophysiology of the NDE produces the same structural elements all around the world, then we are still left with the problem of explaining the values that transform the NDE across cultures (see e.g., Zalesky 1987: 86–87, 178–180).

The Tibetan values that seem to produce and emerge from the DLE I have discussed in my earlier paper. The basic assumptions are, to no one's surprise, Buddhist and Tibetan. Life is suffering. Human happiness is circumscribed by its limits, and its negation will sooner or later come into evidence. Happiness, defined in social terms as health, wealth and love, is impermanent. Each of these goods fades and causes eventual disillusionment (Lichter and Epstein 1983). During the DLE the once healthful body is seen as a repulsive, rotting animal corpse; wealth is seen to engender greed and hate; love and friendship are seen as illusions that stand in the way of salvation. To die without devoting oneself to one's own and others' salvation wholly and unobstructedly is a terrible waste of time, since one will be reborn endlessly to suffer further despair. Sooner or later, one must stop wasting lives and follow a religious career. This means abandoning this-worldly human relationships: nonattachment to all objects — the body, persons, things, hard work and sacrifice. None of this is very easy to accomplish, made particularly hard because hate, ignorance and attachment

are phylogenetic characteristics of the human psyche, and these, especially attachment, keep us embedded in our wretched illusions.

The value–laden concept of attachment seems especially appropriate to the anxieties surrounding separation which I discussed before. I noted that separation anxieties appeared to be especially prominent in the etiology of the DLE. The *'das-log* suffers a profound ambivalence over his ordinary this–worldly life, and this, in turn, seems to be related to his failure to properly mature in finding satisfaction or fulfillment in this–worldly tasks, be they religious or laic. Their failures result from keenly felt stresses occasioned by a lack of fit between their personal values and the mundane facts of their lives, at a time when ego–mastery should be at its peak. As a result they undergo during their DLEs a regression in the service of the ego. The DLE is an exercise in retooling the ego through fantasied parental figures and it culminates in an unambivalent, integral and adaptive adult religious career.

In contrast to the high degree of fit between what a *'das-log* learns in his fantastic sojourn and the dominant values of his culture, postindustrial Western ideologies have been dominated by the denial of death (Garfield 1975: 147 ff.). In essence, Westerners live within an existential vacuum which postulates death as an irrational finality. Western consciousness is also dominated by a hyperrational, demythologized attitude that death is a medical or social problem, soon to be overcome or at least satisfactorily modified by appropriate technologies. Part of this attitude is expressed in Western assumptions that ego remains firmly in control of its environment; out–of–order phenomena, such as death, NDEs or altered states of consciousness, are antithetical. A powerful dissonance inheres in these attitudes. The myths of technology have all but replaced any compensatory view of life after death, whose outcome is uncertain. Since Western thought also postulates a linear and irreversible model of time, which ends once and for all with death, it is major life events which are therefore sanctified, in opposition to Buddhist values. Health, wealth and love are traditionally viewed as gifts for which heaven is, at least in part, responsible; or, they are gained by action in the world, an ethic strongly sanctified by religious values.

In gaining such goods as these, free will and the freedom of choice play an important part, along with this–worldliness, competitive achievement, activism and social conformity. These are the Western (specifically American) values that underlie what Berger (1961) has called the "OK world." All in all, the peaceful, beatific and harmonious content of western NDEs would seem to reflect the values that Berger assigned his "OK world." However, as I tried to determine the historical context of the DLE, it is important also to understand the context of the Western NDE.

Since the "OK world" of the 1960s, enormous social and cultural upheavals have occurred. The adult generation of the 1960s and 1970s were parents to a new generation of antinomian children, for whom, as has often hap-

pened before, traditional values had become inadequate and who renounced traditional family roles, social ties, jobs and attitudes. Traditional values and everyday facts had interfaced comfortably for the parental generation. But many of the filial generation repudiated what they perceived to be a dehumanized, unresponsive technocracy and bureaucracy — those very institutions which had made their parents' lives comfortable and stable to begin with. Instead of following in their parents' footsteps, due to the perceived or real lack of fit between traditional values and the now–changing facts of social, economic and political life, the children of the 1960s and 1970s turned instead to an antinomian set of values: intuitive gnosis and altered states of consciousness for rationality, nature for culture, pseudocommunitas for community, passive cosmic tripping–out for activism, hippiedom for conformity, emotion for cognition and self–indulgence for hard work (Adler 1974; Lasch 1978).

Indeed an examination of the content of the Western NDE should reveal a synthesis of these and traditional values. While interest in and partial acceptance of the altered state of consciousness and the NDE itself, and an apparent shift in time orientation from the future to the here–and–now reflect such an attitudinal change, most of the experiential content of the NDE might best be viewed as upholding those other values of an earlier version of Western–American culture. Americans undergoing the OBE remain reality oriented, as opposed to the terrifying confusion, even paranoia, of the DLE. The vision of the afterworld is predominantly blissful and beatific. Analysands report bucolic scenery, pleasant music, and friendly greetings by their deceased kin, rather than the barrens of *bar–do* and the horrors of hell. Their "return" is predominantly inspired by the wish to fulfill obligations to their loved ones or to complete tasks left unfinished (those very attachments we are enjoined to renounce in the DLE), and their promise is to live humanely and fully all of life's golden and sanctified opportunities, rather than to pursue a religious career of renunciation. Here also we encounter a decision point, a matter of freedom of choice. The Western NDE analysand most often "chooses" to return. The choice is not given the *'das–log*, who is sent back by the Dharmarāja. The contrast obviously reflects deep underlying cultural values: in an urban society with complex institutions and multiple role settings, the notion of freedom of choice is both adaptive and religiously legitimated. In a hierarchical society, such as that of Tibet's in the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries, the notion and role choices would have been rather limited. Finally Westerners no longer fear death and dying, whereas the *'das–log*s most emphatically do.

NDEs, no matter whose they are, transform those who undergo them. Both Westerners and Tibetans return to live in accordance with one value–set within a competing set of traditional values. The Tibetan value–set involves a renunciation of the world's social goods and the American an

other–oriented involvement in them. Westerners typically expect to enjoy a more satisfying life through lowered death anxieties by living through others, especially loved ones, and via a merging of the self into this–world's affectively positive natural beauties and enjoyments: increased appreciation of life, a renewed sense of purpose, greater feelings of personal power to transform the world and tune into it in a cosmic sense, etc. All this, it is felt, somehow reflects a divine handiwork. At a still more abstract level of cultural contrast we may also note that while the Tibetan worldview seems grounded in an acceptance of the Buddhist notion of suffering — the passing of worldly relationships — the typical Westerner anticipates an even–better–than–OK–world in the future, a secularized and humanist worldview which originates in nineteenth century notions of technological progress, utilitarian sociology and Darwinian evolution.[7]

The *'das–log*, on the other hand, wishes others to live a better life through him, and his preachings renounce untutored nature. While the DLE seems principally an exercise in gaining religious maturity or final mastery over a mature role engaging the new cosmic perspective gained during the DLE, Westerners seem more to be concerned with the restoration of their traditional values and the integrity of their adult lives. Their expanded consciousness concerns the quality of their being–in–the–world, at which they get a single chance. Their adult integrity and life project, threatened by changing times that in turn threaten to make a mockery of closely held and culturally appropriate unconscious values, is recaptured in their visions, from which they emerge with renewed commitment to the threatened values, and with reduced dissonance between current facts and values through an avowed alteration in their personal behavior. In doing so they seem also to acquire a contemplative, rather than action–oriented, mode of action–in–the–world. This allows them to retain the values of the OK world, while making the most of it. In contrast, the Tibetan's everyday passive or contemplative mode, as an observer of a world that imposes against his will those roles he wishes to reject, ends up, as a result of the DLE, as an active participant in shaping his surroundings (Deikman 1971).

In relation to their historical context, why, in the past decade or so, has there been such an outpouring of interest in the NDE, when so obviously they have been reported throughout history? There has been in the past a reluctance on the part of Western science and the general public to consider altered states of consciousness. Why this change of heart? Several decades ago, the promise of science and technology for constructing a better world was virtually unchallenged. With this failed hope has come an attitudinal change that considers alternatives such as psychic self–improvement. If society's hopes could not be fulfilled technologically, then perhaps one's own self–centered ones could. The interest in NDEs seem to be generally related to the growth of all the "sciences and pseudosciences that concern them-

selves specifically with aging and death: geriatrics, gerontology, thanatology, cryonics and 'immortalism'" (Lasch 1978: 207). It is also distinctly related to the "how–to" pseudotechnologies, and in fact, the bulk of clinical interest in NDEs seems to center around their applicability as a technique in death and dying research. In a society deprived of religion and myth, as well as its interest in history and posterity, one might well expect a spasm of works on those areas of human living that are treated as integral parts of life in traditional societies: how to live, how to get in touch with yourself and with others, how to make love and how to die. The lacuna left by Western cultural demythologization leaves a vacuum which human nature apparently abhors. Perhaps the NDE is a statement that promises to fill this gap by promising to restore the "OK world," not through technological progress, but through a changed outlook on its operations, a remythologization with a secular–humanist ring. Its frequency and the widespread interest in the NDE may be a general reaction against the mechanics of the object world that has become increasingly separated from the individual, in which life has become a technique rather than a process of self–cultivation. Many years ago, George Simmel pointed out that the more the object world becomes cultivated, the less men are able to gain from the perfection of objects a perfection of subjective life.

If this is the context for the NDE, what of its etiology? Unhappily, one cannot comment extensively upon this topic, inasmuch as the in–depth longitudinal psychological studies necessary to do so are simply not available. Commentators on the Western NDE have tended to concentrate on the uniformity of the experience instead. However, I believe there exists an important hint which lies in the mean age differences between those undergoing the DLE and the western NDE. The former are young adults in their twenties and thirties. I have shown in my earlier paper that the DLE involves a crisis of identity associated with this life–stage. Failing to find fulfillment in this stage the *'das–log* undergoes an apparent regression to the stages where autonomy is first established. He is retooled in hell and returns a religious figure to renounce social life and do good works. In contrast, the mean age of those undergoing the Western NDE is about fifty. Since many of the analysands in Western studies were victims of heart failure this admittedly might be simply an artifact of statistical sampling. However, I would tentatively suggest, it might also have significance beyond this. Is it possible that the typical content of the Western NDE has to do with a crisis in the final stages of adulthood in which the integrity of the adult life project is threatened? This crisis is then solved during the NDE by a regressive movement in which archaic introjects of post–oedipal childhood flood back into consciousness. These, according to the Eriksonian model, have to do with the formation of initiative, the formation of guilt, and purposefulness versus passivity. The assertive expansion of ego into the world in this stage occasions

guilt as it intrudes upon it. The solution may be recast in terms of religious integration of the ego to heal the world upon which it has imposed itself and thus to soothe its guilt. Thus we find in the Western NDE analysand a renewed sense of life recast into a cosmic framework in which he finds a purpose to his existence through beloved others whom he first deserted and in whom he now finds joy.

NOTES

[1] This analysis is in part corroborated by the work of Robert Paul (1970, 1982) who noted the role of separation anxieties and maturation problems in the etiology of Sherpa shamanism. One should also note here that the Tibetan concept of maturity involves much the same evaluation as in studies of the Western concept; the key markers of maturity are seriousness, to–the–pointedness (*gnad–thig–pa*), independence or autonomy (*sems long–ba*), decisiveness (*thag gcod–pa*), unambivalence in belief (*the–tshom med–pa*) and in action (*rnam–thog med–pa*). Tibetans consider the roles of householder and of monk as structural, if not moral, equivalents in an individual's career. Whereas the concepts associated with maturity listed above may take on different meaning in terms of their goals, they remain structurally important in the evaluation of a life career, be it religious or lay.

[2] Following West (1967: 887), this stored neural program might interfere with such brain structures as the reticular activating system, which is responsible for processing sensory information and arousal, integrating these with emotions, memory and other transactions between the neo– and paleocortex. Many other hypotheses have been put forth implicating everything from conscious and subconscious fabrication to hallucination and depersonalization, including a number of neurophysiological dysfunctions, such as temporal and limbic lobe seizure, hypoxia and anoxia, etc. For a review of these hypotheses, see e.g., Sabom 1982 and Zalesky 1987.

An interesting hypothesis has recently been voiced by Dr. M. Morse, *et al.*, who write that NDEs may be the result of the activation of the neuronal connections in the temporal lobe that specifically code for OBEs, with secondary hallucinations that the mind incorporates into the experience to make sense of them (Morse, *et al.*. 1986: 1112). In studies of children, ages three to sixteen, who have undergone NDEs, Morse, *et al.* found that while consistent with the adult core experience, children's NDEs typically lack "elements of depersonalization, including life review, time alteration, worldly detachment, or transcendant feelings" (*ibid.*: 1110). This would suggest the presence of a neuronal structure which, when activated, provides a unifying experience, but one whose content is embellished by social and cultural experience.

[3] In her fine recent comparison of Western historical and modern NDEs, Zalesky (1987) also points out the effects of viewing these visions or testimonies as works of the imagination, whose similarity of structure flows from their narrative integrity and didactic aim.

[4] This sense of reality is, however, unusually highlighted in the visual and audial senses. These are often crosshatched and confused for one another. In both cases victims occasionally report hearing things directly, not communicated through the ear. They may also see sounds. Both the Western OBE and the transcendental NDE stages, the Tibetan transcendental DLE stage and, to a lesser extent, the Tibetan OBE stage, have the quality of removed rational cognition. In this we are reminded of Hildgard's "hidden observer"

(1977), an executive ego function which has been uncovered during hypnotic experiments.

5 There is some disagreement here in Western case studies. Rawlings (1978) proposes that hell visions occur frequently in Western NDEs, but that they are repressed. Ring (1982: 192) has commented that this study is unreliable due to both poor methodology and the author's undisguised fundamentalist assumptions. More reliably Garfield (1979: 54) reports four groups, one of which (about 5.5% of his sample) is characterized by lucid nightmarish and demonic figures.

6 See e.g., Brent 1979 for an analysis based upon the phenomenology of how perception and imagery are constructed.

7 I am indebted to Mr. Keith Watenpaugh for this observation. See also Zalesky 1987: 189 ff. I also thank Ms. M. Vakoc, Ms. K. MacGregor and the other students (too many to name here) in my Arts and Sciences Honors class (Spring, 1988), for their cogent ideas upon which I have drawn throughout this paper.

ABBREVIATIONS

AG *Ākāśagarbha-sūtra*

BBH Asaṅga, *Boddhisattvabhūmi*

BCA Śāntideva, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*

Bu-ston See Chandra, L. (Ed.), 1971.

CHOS See Bsod-nams-rtse-mo, *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo.* In SA, Vol. *nga*: 263a-316b.

Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag See Chandra, L. (Ed.), 1959-1962.

DRMC See 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs 1975.

GBYT See G.yas-ru Stag-tshang-pa 1979

Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan See Tatz 1982.

GRAGS See Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Bod kyi rgyal rabs.* In SA, Vol Ta.: 196b-200a. [Cf. Tucci 1947 and Tucci 1971].

GTW Geshe Thukjey Wangchuk, personal communication.

HBS See Thukjhey Wangchuk 1980.

MSS See Mindai Seizōshiryō, In Tamura 1959.

MVY See Sakaki 1916.

NYANG See Meisezahl 1985.

O Otani University reprint of the Peking edition of the Tibetan Sacred Canon (*Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur*), the works of Tsong-kha-pa, etc. See Suzuki 1957.

P Peking edition of Tsong-kha-pa's *Basic Path to Awakening.* See O.

'PHAGS See 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan, *Bod kyi rgyal rabs.* In SA, Vol *ba*: 360b-361b [cf. Tucci 1947 and Tucci 1971].

SA See Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho 1968-1969.

Si-tu See Kaḥ-thog Si-tu 1972.

SKC See Kun-dga'-rin-chen n.d.

SS Śāntideva, *Śikṣāsamuccaya.*

TG *Tsa ri tar ye shes kyi 'khor lo'i gnas kyi ngo mtshar cha shas tsam gsal bar brjod pa'i yi ge skal ldan dga' bskyed dad pa'i nyin byed 'char ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so*

TS See citations in Tatz, 1987.

YBH Asaṅga, *Yogācārabhūmi.*

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